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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Attempt to Blow Up Al-Aqsa Mosque Stopped Short by Palestinian Guards

Palestinian guards at al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem prevented an attempt by Israeli extremists, January 27, to blow up the shrine regarded by Muslims throughout the world as the third holiest place in Islam. Two boxes of explosives left behind by the would-be attackers and later recovered by local guards were turned in to Israeli police.

The attempt was discovered after the intruders succeeded in climbing the eastern wall of the mosque, which is also the wall of the Old City of Jerusalem. The intruders were apparently in the process of pulling up closed boxes, ropes and other equipment when the unarmed Arab guards on duty saw them. The attackers fled when most of the 30 men on night guard rushed towards the area.

According to a *waqf* official, a guard on duty at the eastern side became suspicious when he noticed movement in the area. He summoned his colleagues by radio.

The guard arrived at the wall as the last of a group of six or seven men was going down on a rope ladder which was hanging against the wall. "The intruder was carrying an Uzi-type gun," he said. The group ran and disappeared in the darkness.

Later Israeli border guards and policemen who were summoned arrived and took charge of the search. Palestinian guards complained that the soldiers forced them away from the area as they removed the equipment the intruders left behind. During this time, the boxes, ropes and raincoats were carried away by the soldiers.

The Jerusalem Post reported that 19 grenades and 13 kilogrammes of explosives were left behind by the intruders, a correction of its earlier report that five kilogrammes were discovered.

Hatem Abd al-Qader, spokesperson of the Islamic *waqf* council which is responsible for the mosque and all Muslim holy places, noted that the way which the intruders followed to get onto the mosque's grounds suggests that they were professionals in their field, possibly people who have undergone military training.

Israeli police unofficially attribute the attack to the mysterious (TNT) Jewish terrorist group, which claimed responsibility for several attacks against Muslim and Christian religious institutions. According to *Yediot Aharanot*, "The intruders escaped in a military truck. Police are investigating eyewitness reports that soldiers or even officers are involved." The paper quoted police sources as estimating the weight of the explosives to be 122 kilogrammes, considerably more than the figure of five-13 kilogrammes given by other newspapers. Israeli police arrested two members of the ultra-right wing Kach movement, January 28, and then released them. No explanation was given for their arrest or release.

Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Alami, head of the Supreme Islamic Council, sent a letter to the Israeli prime minister protesting the new incursion. He described it as a "criminal act aimed at destroying the mosque and killing innocent people." He also demanded that the attackers be arrested and brought to trial as quickly as possible.

The Israeli Mayor of Jerusalem Teddy Kollek visited head of the Supreme Islamic Council Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Alami, January 29, and condemned the attempt. Kollek claimed that 99.9 percent of Jews condemn the attack.

The Israeli police commander of the southern district also visited Alami and announced plans to improve security around the mosque, with the possible use of electronic equipment. British Consul in East Jerusalem Donald Hamley, dean of the diplomatic corps in Jerusalem, also visited Sheikh Alami in his office and conveyed his and other diplomats' concern about the attack.

Since the aborted attack on al-Aqsa, a total of six hand grenades were discovered in the St. Stephen's Gate area, Jerusalem, January 28 and 30.

In the first incident, Israeli police safely detonated three hand grenades discovered outside the Old City walls in a cemetery near St. Stephen's Gate.

Two days later, three more hand grenades were discovered in front of St. Stephen's Gate, according to police sources. The grenades were found by a passer-by in an Israeli army issued canteen holder. The police spokesperson confirmed that the bombs were issued by the Israeli army and of the same sequence as those involved in the recently aborted attempt to bomb al-Aqsa Mosque.

This brings to 22 the number of grenades found in the latest attack on al-Aqsa.

The arrow on the map of the Haram al-Sharif, left, points to the spot where intruders attempted to break into al-Aqsa Mosque, January 27, to blow up the shrine.

Mu'in Bseiso, 57

Israeli occupation authorities refused to allow the burial of Palestinian poet Mu'in Bseiso in his birthplace, Gaza, January 28, according an *Agence France Presse* dispatch.

Bseiso, an internationally respected poet, died, January 25, in London of a heart attack (see story page 11).

One Dead, Two Wounded As Soldiers Shoot Nablus Demonstrators

Nasser Adel Sarisi, 16, was shot dead and two youths were wounded in Nablus by Israeli soldiers in two separate demonstrations in the city centre, January 28. Sarisi was shot in the neck by the commander of an Israeli border guard patrol, according to witnesses. He was taken to a military camp near Hawara and pronounced dead later.

The incident occurred at 10:00 am after a group of Ibn Haytham students stoned an Israeli vehicle. They were protesting settlement activity in Nablus, local sources said. Israeli army spokespeople said Israeli troops faced stone-throwers, fired twice in the air and then shot at demonstrators' legs. The Sarisi family was notified of the death of their son at 5:00 pm.

As news spread, hundreds of residents took to the streets in an impromptu demonstration. A large number of Israeli soldiers moved into the city to disperse the "agitators," according to official statements. Soldiers opened fire and threw tear gas bombs. Hassan Shubaru, 18, was shot in the stomach and Qays Awayes, 17, in the thigh. Both were taken to the Ittihad Nisa'i Hospital where Shubaru's condition was later described as "serious." Awayes was said to be in fair condition after a bullet was extracted from his left thigh.

The old city of Nablus was curfewed during the afternoon and there were reports of soldiers opening fire in city streets. Shopkeepers closed their shops and the city was described by one visitor as "empty."

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Weather Stalls Major Assault on Beirut Shiite Suburbs

by Livia Rokach

Heavy rains and snow storms blocked all military activities in central Lebanon, Wednesday, January 25, at the very moment the Lebanese army moved to massively attack the densely populated, predominantly Shi'ite neighbourhoods of south Beirut, starting from Chiyah neighbourhood. In a simultaneous move, a column of resistance forces tanks, operated mainly by PPS combatants, began an advance toward Souq al-Gharb.

This was the first time since last September that resistance armoured forces attempted to move out of the liberated mountain areas. Fighting in the Souq al-Gharb sector since the decree of a "ceasefire" on September 25 bore the character of a war of attrition between the positions of the Lebanese army, who in September prevented the final liberation of the area thanks to a last minute direct American military intervention, and the resistance positions in Aley and Bhamdoun.

Western diplomatic and military sources in Beirut believe, however, that the battles have only been postponed and may erupt at any time once weather conditions improve. There is strong concern, especially in European circles, regarding the Lebanese army offensive, which, multi-national forces sources say, will take place with massive direct American military support against south Beirut. According to these sources, such an offensive, for which intense preparations have been visibly made, "will culminate in a disaster," both because of the large number of civilian casualties which would result and because the military results, from the viewpoint of the Lebanese regime and Americans, cannot be taken for granted, especially if, as it seems, the latter's forces will come under attack from the rear by resistance units descending from the mountains.

On Wednesday, as the attack seemed to be in an initial phase, Shi'ite Mufti Qabalan, the second in authority after Sheikh Mohammed Mehdi Shams al-Din and considered particularly moderate in his attitudes toward the Gemayel regime, called on the Sunni community to demonstrate all-Muslim solidarity in the face of the Phalangist-directed attack. A positive response to this call seems embodied in the violent attack launched on Thursday against the Gemayel regime by a Sunni leader who until recently has fervently supported the Beirut government. In a communique, former Prime Minister Saeb Salam accused the regime of "infringing the constitution and the laws of Lebanon" and of having instituted "a personal dictatorship." Salam, who is not a member of the Lebanese National Salvation Front, further declared that this dictatorship is "contrary to reason and totally unacceptable." The Beirut government, Salam concluded, has by now exceeded even the "full powers" accorded to it by the National Assembly on November 17, 1982.

Another violent attack on the Gemayel regime was launched from Paris by the exiled liberal Maronite leader Raymond Edde. In an interview, Edde warned Western governments and public opinion that the Lebanese people, including the Christian communities, will never accept the Phalangist hegemony as represented by the present regime. "This is neither a Christian nor a Maronite regime but only a Phalangist regime," Edde said. "All the communities in Lebanon have no objection to a Christian president in the future but on condition that he be a Lebanese Christian, not a Phalangist." Edde also unequivocally demanded the abrogation of the May 17 Lebanese-Israeli accord and a total retreat of Israel's forces from all Lebanese territory.

Embarrassed by the failure, for the moment, of his army's "surprise attack" on south Beirut and by the violent attacks from moderate quarters on his regime, Amin Gemayel convened several journalists to Ba'abda Palace, January 28, "confiding" to them "off the record" that the US intends to strongly support his government's and army's efforts "to prevent explosive repercussions in south Lebanon following the imminent withdrawal of Israel's occupation forces from the area." Observers in Beirut believe, however, that the rumour campaign by the Lebanese regime of an "imminent Israeli withdrawal" represents just a part of the effort to press Syria into pledging a simultaneous retreat of its own forces while retracting or "freezing" its demand for the abrogation of the May accord.

Amin Gemayel also complained that the Americans and Saudis had promised him that his acceptance of a demand to reintegrate and promote Druze officers who deserted the army last September to join the resistance would remove the "last obstacle" on the way to the realisation of his "security plan" whereby his army would deploy in the resistance-controlled liberated areas. "But now I am told by the LNSF leaders that my acceptance is nothing but a manoeuvre," Gemayel said, "and is rejected." In reality, as Amin well knows, the question of the reintegration of the "deserters" is only one in a long list of demands by the opposition, a list considered by LNSF as a "package deal" and known to be unacceptable to the Phalangists. For example, another of the many demands regards the liquidation of the Phalangist checkpost at Barbara, on the Batrun-Tripoli road, where at present travellers, including drivers of trucks transporting goods from the north to the Beirut area, are forced to pay high taxes to the "Lebanese forces" under threats of murder, abduction and confiscaton of the goods. Other demands involve the lifting of the 8:00 pm – 6:00 am curfew in force in Beirut since last August and an end to the censorship on the media.

Meanwhile, Beirut continues to be immersed in darkness from sunset every day as a consequence of the bombings in past weeks of the central electricity plant in Jiyeh and the secondary plant in east Beirut. The lack of electricity is particularly hard on the population of the Sabra-Shatila camps.

The "snow ceasefire" ended, January 30, and generalised battles began in Beirut and in the mountains at 9:00 am. The Lebanese army backed by Marines shelled the Hai Sellum Shi'ite neighbourhood with tank mounted cannons and mortars.

One US Marine was killed and three others wounded around their base at Beirut Airport. According to news agency reports, the unnamed Marine died of wounds received during clashes between "anti-government militiamen" and Marines and Lebanese army forces.

The airport was closed twice during the day. The dead Marine was the 259th to die in Beirut since August, 1982. A school and bus were also hit and at least 15 children injured. Resistance sources put responsibility on the army for starting the offensive.

One Israeli Killed by Resistance

An Israeli civilian construction worker was killed and two other civilians and one soldier were wounded in two separate attacks in the on-going war of attrition against the Israeli occupation army in south Lebanon, according to official announcements. In another incident, an Israeli-supported militia leader was assassinated on January 26 by nationalist fighters.

Unaccounted for are the deaths of two officers, one with the rank of major, early last week. The Israeli media reported only on their funerals and said that the two officers died in the line of duty, but did not elaborate.

The latest attack took place, January 29, when an Israeli patrol was ambushed in eastern Lebanon near the ceasefire lines with Syrian troops. The incident was the first reported in the Beqa'a in more than a month and did not result in any casualties, an Israeli military spokesperson claimed. Nevertheless, Israeli media described the incident as "very serious," pointing out that it coincided with the return of hundreds of PLO fighters to the Beqa'a valley.

The only incident among the seven attacks reported this week which resulted in death occurred January 26 when an Israeli construction worker employed by the Israeli army was killed and his two companions wounded when their vehicle came under attack. Foreign reporters said that the convoy was attacked with small firearms and grenades near the village of Ansar, in the Nabatiya region. The workers and the soldiers escorting the convoy returned the fire. Later on, a search was organised but no arrests were reported.

A third Israeli, a soldier, was wounded two days later after his patrol was attacked with light arms fire near the village of Sarafand, south of the Zahrani River. He was taken to hospital in Israel. An Israeli military spokesperson later announced that the army bulldozed the orchard from which the attack was said to have been launched.

Among other attacks carried out by the Lebanese national resistance and Palestinian fighters was the rocket attack on the Sidon headquarters of the Israeli border guards and intelligence service. Israeli media downplayed the attack and reported that only one RPG hit the building, without causing damage. Syrian radio, on the other hand, quoted foreign journalists as saying that two rockets struck the building and set it on fire. Israeli troops closed off the area and reportedly arrested several people.

In another attack, Mohammed Farhat, leader of the Israeli-initiated militia group in the village of Kfar Rummaneh, was shot dead from a speeding car, January 26, by a man using a silenced gun. He is the third Israeli-backed militia leader to be killed in the past few months.

Israeli papers reported one further attack in the Sarafand area, south of the Zahrani River, January 29. There were no casualties, according to *The Jerusalem Post*.

Israel Uses Blackmail to Lobby Vatican for Recognition

Vatican City, January 29: There was no official reaction by the Vatican this weekend to the renewed hysterical attacks by Zionist-manipulated American Jewish organisations, taken up also by the *New York Times*, accusing the Holy See of having protected and facilitated the evasion of Nazi war criminals in the period immediately following World War II. But privately, reliable sources in the Vatican expressed "rage and disgust" at the accusations which, they said, "are periodically brought up by well-defined political forces as part of manoeuvres directed to blackmail the Holy See." It is well-known, on the other hand, that Israel is at present exercising secret massive pressure to obtain recognition by the Vatican as a state and for Jerusalem as its capital, including annexed East Jerusalem.

Recalling the attacks and insults voiced by former Israeli Premier Menachem Begin at the time of Pope John Paul II's meeting with Yasir Arafat in mid-September 1982, the sources said it was not surprising that the renewed attack, "based on the declassification of old, well-known and equally vague and misleading documents," has occurred shortly after the Pope, in a public address two weeks ago, again reaffirmed his support for the right of the Palestinian people to have its national homeland.

Lebanon-Israeli Trade: One Way Street

According to Israeli officials, exports of produce and industrial goods to Lebanon are holding steady. Imports from Lebanon have been stamped out by customs.

Gideon Patt, Israeli minister for trade and industry, told financial reporters, last week, that Israel exports US$3 million worth of goods monthly to Lebanon. Another US$3 million worth of non-Israeli goods goes through Haifa port to occupied Lebanon.

Israel Radio, quoting official figures, said, however, the exports to Lebanon [illegible] US$100 million in 1983.

Israel's imports from Lebanon consist of one shipment of *arak*, an anise-flavoured liquor, and loads of scrap metal. The *arak* has become virtually unsellable here after Israeli customs slapped a 400 percent surcharge on it. Lebanese Zahle *arak*, reputed to be the best in the Middle East because of the purity of its water base, costs five times the price of the local version. The importer says they cannot sell the 12,000 bottles they have [illegible]cted and will not order [illegible]re.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 196, February 1, 1984:

Number original articles submitted to censors	35
Number of articles totally censored out	9
Number of articles partially censored but used	3
Number of articles passed	23

Mayor Hamdallah Released

An Israeli military court in Nablus ordered the release of the elected mayor of Anabta, Wahid Hamdallah, January 29, saying there was no evidence to support the police accusations that he took part in the killing of a land dealer one-and-a-half months ago.

Hamdallah was released from Nablus prison the previous day, after 25 days in detention. His lawyers signed a IS100,000 bail bond in order to secure his release.

During the January 29 court session, lawyers representing Hamdallah argued that the police were holding the mayor on suspicion and that they had not presented any evidence or charged him with anything.

Earlier, the court rejected two petitions submitted by Jerusalem lawyer Felicia Langer for his release. In both hearings, the court upheld police claims that they had secret evidence against him.

Mayor Hamdallah described his detention as a political measure against him. He explained that the authorities intended to take revenge on him for his political views. "The authorities know well that I did not have anything to do with the killing, yet they intended to punish me," he said.

The court also called upon the military objections committee to reconsider the two-year town arrest order against Hamdallah.

Prisoner Tortured

Ayed Abu Bakr, 27, a resident of Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem, is being tortured at the Moscobiyya detention centre, in Jerusalem, according to local press. Abu Bakr was arrested on the Allenby Bridge three months ago on his return from Iraq. He is being interrogated on a charge of membership in a PLO organisation. Vicious dogs have reportedly been used to terrorise him into confessing.

Abu Bakr's nephew, Bassam, now serving 28 months on charges of throwing a firebomb, was transferred from Ramallah jail to the detention centre for unknown reasons.

Abu Bakr's family appealed, January 28, to local and international human rights organisations to intervene for the release of the two prisoners. Bassam is suffering sharp pains from a broken leg and doctors have been prevented from seeing him. (Translation: Al Fajr, January 29, 1984).

Hussein Tones Down Strike Force Idea

King Hussein of Jordan announced to a roomful of foreign correspondents in Amman, January 28, that he had no plans "to create a (strike) force" that would intervene in other countries "in the name of the US or any other power." Last autumn Israeli military sources had leaked US plans to assist such a Jordanian-based force but there has never been confirmation from Jordan. Hussein has reiterated since then that no special force is necessary, that his entire army is at the disposal of his "Arab brothers."

Hussein also told the press that he would soon visit the US "for medical treatment" and would meet with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat on his return to Amman. The foreign press has been awaiting Arafat's visit to Hussein since mid-January. The king said that although his Washington visit was not political, "opportunities might arise to see some friends." Hussein's current extension to the PLO has the endorsement of several well-placed Palestinian and Arab-American academics and businessmen in the US.

Najah Rally Protests Academic Sanctions

Najah University students continued their strike, begun January 21, to protest the administration's imposition of academic sanctions against 12 students for "unlawful assembly."

Striking students convened on campus, January 28, to demand that the administration reinstate the six credit hours withdrawn from 12 students, including four members of the student council, for holding meetings, January 14 and 15. Students also called for changes in the university bylaws regarding academic punishment, demanded the release of the student budget to the student council and insisted on freedom of expression.

Advocates for Abu Ain Press ICRC for His Release

From left to right, Fuad, Aziz and Rajah Shehadeh demand the release of prisoner Ziad Abu Ai Jerusalem press conference/ AO photo

Lawyers of Ziad Abu Ain, one of the prisoners kept in detention by Israel in violation of the November 1983 PLO-Israel prisoner exchange agreement, are pressing the International Committee of the Red Cross, which mediated the exchange, to refuse to act as go-between on other exchanges before the young al-Bireh man is released.

Raja Shehadeh, one of Abu Ain's lawyers, told a press conference at the American Colony Hotel, Jerusalem, January 24, that last month ICRC officials had "implied" they would not negotiate with Israel over the release of other Israelis captured during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon until Abu Ain is freed. Fuad, Aziz and Raja Shehadeh told assembled journalists that they wanted the ICRC to declare publicly that no negotiations will be conducted until the November 24 agreement is strictly adhered to. They also called on the US to take an active role to get the exchange implemented and to call upon Israel to respect the agreement and secure the immediate release of Abu Ain. The Ramallah law team also announced that they are considering appealing to the Israeli High Court in order to obtain Ziad's release.

Abu Ain, as well as scores of Palestinian prisoners from Lebanon, continue to be held in Israeli jails in breach of the written agreement, the lawyers said.

Asked by reporters why Israeli authorities would want to hold back Ziad Abu Ain, Raja Shehadeh gave two possible explanations: "the high number of Palestinians released in return for only six Israelis and the much publicised case of Abu Ain who was extradited from the US in 1981."

Fuad Shehadeh dismissed any connection between the exchange agreement and the innocence or guilt of Abu Ain. Throughout extradition procedures and his trial here, Abu Ain protested his innocence. He was extradited on the confessions of two people, both of whom retracted them at Abu Ain's trial, stating they had been given under torture.

Veteran Palestinian lawyer Aziz Shehadeh called on Palestinian, Israeli and foreign journalists "to publicise the case of Ziad Abu Ain in order to positively affect his release."

As for future exchanges, according to the advocates' press release, no negotiations have taken place between the concerned parties since the November 24 exchange and "none are expected to take place until the first agreement of the exchange has been strictly respected," the statement said.

At least two Israeli soldiers are still held by Palestinian guerrilla organisations.

The lawyers provided journalists with copies of an affidavit signed by Abu Ain detailing the events of November 23 shortly before the exchange took place. He said he was kidnapped by Israeli soldiers after he had been checked off the exchange list by ICRC representatives and before boarding the Air France plane taking released prisoners to Algiers.

In response to a letter from the Shehadeh's, Moshe Saul, who leads the office of legal advisor to the Israeli government, claimed, December 5, that Abu Ain was not mentioned in the lists of the Red Cross.

Journalists attending the conference were presented with a Red Cross press release no. 1478 which says that "the ICRC is still trying to resolve the cases of several prisoners who should have been released but are not yet freed."

The press release added: "One prisoner, Mr Ziad Mohammed Ahmad Abu Ain, was registered by ICRC delegates at Tel Aviv airport, along with the others being freed, before embarcation. However, at the last minute he was taken by the Israeli authorities from a bus driving him and other prisoners to a waiting aircraft."

A number of local and international organisations are presently campaigning for Abu Ain's release. Among them are the Nazareth-based Friends of the Prisoners Society and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign in the US.

Petitions demanding Ziad's release have also been signed by American personalities and sent to US officials. Israeli sources deny their relations with the ICRC are at a standstill.

Security Needs Questioned In Hebron Court Case

The Israeli High Court postponed hearing the appeal of Hebron Bus Company owners, January 24, against the bus station takeover by the Israeli military governor after appellants presented an affidavit from a former Israeli chief of staff which refuted the military's security argument. The bus terminal has been in the hands of the military since July.

The former military chief, Yigal Yadin, said in his affidavit, made after he toured the area, that there were sufficient security measures since soldiers were stationed on the nearby Usama Ben Munqeth school building (Israelis call it Beit Romano) and on the roof of the Dabboyya building. Soldiers are also posted permanently on several Arab houses. "If it is said that seizing the bus station will increase security in the area, then it is possible to make the same argument with regard to every building in the heart of Hebron," the reserve officer Yadin stated.

Hebron Bus Company owner Fayez Qawasmi presented through his lawyer rental documents for the bus station dating from 1946. He also argued that the new site assigned for their use as a bus station is unsuitable and robs al-Ibrahimiyeh school of its only playground.

After more than one hour in session, the court decided to postpone its ruling for four days to allow the two sides to reach an agreement out of court. If no agreement is reached, the court is scheduled to reconvene on January 28 to give its verdict.

Sources close to the bus station owners said that the authorities offered to temporarily return the bus station on condition that they move again once a suitable bus terminal is built.

Owner Qawasmi sounded optimistic about the chances of retaining the terminal.

The station, which is now occupied by Israeli troops, was seized in July following a settler rampage in which a large portion of the old produce market was arsoned. The Israeli occupation authorities, yielding to settlers' demands, took over the bus station and announcements have been made of plans to build a settlement on the site of the station and the produce market.

Since the bus terminal was seized, the 40-bus fleet has been scattered throughout the town.

The Hebron National Bus Company is one of the oldest bus companies in Palestine. It was founded in 1932 and has sole right to the busy Hebron-Jerusalem route. The bus terminal also provides the only transportaton to the many villages in the Hebron district.

Government Racism Condemned At Nazareth Conference

Over 3000 Palestinians and Israelis attended an anti-discrimination conference at a Nazareth cinema, January 28. The participants denounced racist incitement against Palestinians and called for mutual coexistence among both peoples based on equality and reciprocal respect.

Conference participants demanded the cancellation of all discriminatory laws and regulations, called for adopting laws prohibiting incitement against Arabs and called upon Israeli officials to adopt a policy based on complete equality between Arabs and Jews. The conferees formed a preparatory committee which would work for implementing the conference resolutions. Twenty speakers representing local councils, Knesset members, Israeli political parties, Palestinian community organisations and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality spoke in the conference.

Tawfiq Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth, said that Israel uses all possible justifications for its discriminatory practices, such as that "Arabs do not serve in the army." He stated that there is official governmental and police discrimination as well as unofficial discrimination against Arabs. He said it aims to compel them to emigrate.

Rev. Shehadeh Shehadeh, chairperson of the Committee for the Defence of the Land, said that the Palestinians have the right to live in their own country and will resist all racist laws.

Abd al-Latif Habib, chairperson of the Arab local councils group, demanded the state of Israel extend equal rights to Arab councils.

Mordechai Avi Sha'oul, chairperson of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, accused the state and denounced "its racist policy practised since the establishment of Israel." Israeli poet Natan Yonatan said, "We Jews suffered from racism in ghettos."

Odeh Sarhan, a Beduin sheikh from the Naqab, said, "We in the south are discriminated against just like those in the north. The Israeli officials have issued laws to grab our lands since 1953. They created the Green Patrols to force us out of our lands."

Rita Khouri, who lives in Upper Nazareth, said "I am surprised at the discriminatory policy practised against us. However, I am happy to see Palestinians and Israelis talking about our pains and grievances."

At the end of the day, a public statement of conference resolutions was distributed.

US REFUSES UN ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE AS "ONE-SIDED"

The US has officially rejected calls by UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar for the convening of an international conference on Palestine to include all parties to the conflict, including Israel, the PLO and both superpowers.

Responding to the proposal made late last year, Jean Kirkpatrick, US ambassador to the UN, informed the president of the Security Council by letter, January 13, that the US rejected it and called it "ill-considered and harmful."

Kirkpatrick recalled her government's negative vote on a UN General Assembly proposal which backed the holding of the conference on the Middle East and stated the US "believes firmly that the only path to peace in the Middle East lies in a process of negotiations among the parties based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338." She said the US "sought vigorously and consistently to encourage (the resolutions) particularly in the Camp David accords" and the Reagan initiative of September 1, 1982. The US government, Kirkpatrick wrote, believes that the holding of an international conference on the Middle East will hinder this process and predictably would "yield a one-sided outcome not acceptable to one or more of the parties. These results would diminish the prestige of the UN" and "delay the day when peace will come to the troubled Middle East."

She said the US will continue to promote "face-to-face negotiations among the parties" and would therefore regret the use of UN funds for such a purpose and will not participate in the conference, nor in preparing for it.

It is believed in Washington that the US opposes the conference because Israel did and because the US doesn't want the USSR to play any role in a Middle East solution. Israel and the US don't want the PLO to have any part in peace talks and reject a conference whereby Israel will have to face a group of Arab states and Palestinian representatives.

Kohl Trip Leaves Israel Guessing on Saudi Arms

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl left Tel Aviv airport, January 29, after a five-day official visit having held at bay repeated demands from Israelis of all political stripe that he not sell arms to Saudi Arabia.

The first trip by a West German leader to the state of Israel started with a visit to Yad Vashèm, a memorial to Jewish victims of the Nazi holocaust, where he was met by a small band of right wing demonstrators protesting his presence in the country. The director of the memorial made a personal plea to Kohl to block a proposed sale of defensive weaponry to the Saudis. This theme was repeated in his three meetings with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir during his stay. He left, January 29, telling his hosts the decision on the sales would be made in Bonn. Shamir retaliated with statements that he would bring pressure to bear via the USA.

During the stay, the general director of the prime minister's office, Matityahu Shmuelevitz, told a West German newspaper that Israel would take preemptive military action against the Saudis if the weapons were delivered. The government press office later withdrew the threat. In the Knesset, January 25, all Zionist parties came out against the sale.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl meets Muslim leaders, including Mufti Saad Eddin Alami (center), at the Dome of the Rock, January 28/ AO photo

Other topics discussed during the chancellor's tour included relations with the European Economic Community. Israelis called on the Germans to guarantee their agricultural exports to Europe with the advent of Spain and Portugal to the community soon and for German pressure to get Spain to recognise Israel. Kohl's party gave assurances of support on the Spain issue but no details of their response on EEC-Israeli economic ties. Europe is Israel's major export market.

In his opening speech of the tour, Kohl declared his government's support for the EEC's 1980 Venice Declaration calling for a Palestinian state; Ronald Reagan's 1982 plan calling for Jordanian dominance of the occupied territories; and the Arab Summit plan drawn up at Fez the same year calling for a Palestinian State. There was no Israeli response.

Kohl visited Tel Aviv during his Israel tour. His only trip to the occupied territories came with a brief visit to the Old City of Jerusalem. Residents of the Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem, invited the chancellor to visit what they called their "ghetto camp."

Settlers Charged for Child Murder

Two Israeli settlers from Elon Moreh settlement, near Nablus, were charged, January 26, in the killing of Aisheh Bahash, 11, and the wounding of her younger sister, Fida', last month. The two settlers were ordered held until their trial. No trial date was set. Yosef Harnoi, 38, was charged with the murder while a second man, recent US immigrant Ephraim Segal, 27, was charged with aiding Harnoi and assisting to conceal evidence. The accused killers are residents of the Nablus hilltop settlement Elon Moreh.

Aisheh Bahash

Both settlers were arrested early this month after repeated complaints from the family. The charge sheet, which was submitted by the police to the Tel Aviv district court, stated that Harnoi and Segal met in Nablus, December 8, a day of violent demonstrations and protests. The two men decided "to drive around in the city in order to demonstrate a presence," the charge sheet stated.

Harnoi chased some child stone-throwers down Nablus alleys when he came upon the bakery shop where the dead girl's father worked. The settler fired two rounds at the girls, killing the girl and wounding her sister, the police version states.

Following the incident, Harnoi changed the bolt and barrel of his submachine gun with another Israeli, Pinhas Mahrabi, a guard who accompanies Israeli buses when they travel in the West Bank.

Mahrabi was charged early this month with being an accessory for his role in concealing evidence. (Reprint: Jerusalem Post, January 27, 1984).

Dheisheh Writes to Kohl

Representatives of the UNRWA Youth Club in Dheisheh camp published an open letter to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, January 29, criticising his visit to Israel. The letter sharply condemned Kohl's visit to Jewish holocaust memorials and said today's Germans do not bear responsibility for what happened to Jews under Hitler. The open letter said that residents of the Dheisheh camp hoped that Kohl would visit their "ghetto camp," which is a "distinctive symbol of Israeli oppression practised in the occupied territories."

Dheisheh residents described their camp as a 20th century "detention camp". The letter expressed the hope that Kohl would visit the Palestinian camps motivated by his democratic and cultural principles.

"We, the undersigned, on behalf of the Dheisheh population, reject the Ben Porat (Israeli minister without portfolio) resettlement plan which aims at bringing the end of the Palestinian cause. We call for the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning finding a solution based on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state," they said.

Ben Porat Quits, Cites Cabinet Conflict

Israeli minister without portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat resigned from the cabinet, January 29, explaining it is not functioning as it should. Some Israeli observers are predicting elections are near because of Ben Porat's departure.

In writing his resignation, Ben Porat said the cabinet "found it hard to make the right decisions" because of differences between individual ministers, wings of parties and the parties themselves.

Ben Porat, voted into the Knesset as number three on the late Moshe Dayan's slate, gained notoriety in the occupied territories for his authorship of a plan to raze refugee camps. He will now sit in the Knesset as an independent.

The Dawn

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A New Attempt

In his press conference to the Arab and foreign press, King Hussein of Jordan confirmed the Israeli-leaked rumours regarding the setting up of a Jordanian strike force to intervene in Arab countries. He denied to a *New York Times* correspondent that he was forming a "rapid deployment force" in return for US $ 220 million in US aid but assured her and her government that this aid is actually to be used inside Arab countries to help the regimes there rather than against Israel. Only if Israel directly attacked Jordan might he be obliged to defend himself. But he also reminded the audience and the world of his "comendable" use of arms obtained previously from the US.

The arms given him and his governments, all through the years of his family's reign in Jordan since 1921, were never really used against Israel and/or the Zionists before the creation of the Israeli state. The only two occasions when the Jordanian regime was forced to stand face-to-face with Israel, leaving it no choice but to play the defender of rights was in 1948 and in 1967, by default.

In 1948 Hussein's grandfather's army entered Palestine to help crush the Palestinian resistance then. When the old city of Jerusalem was still pushing back attacks by the Zionist forces from the west, his army besieged the city from the remaining sides and did not offer any help until the fighters surrendered to his forces. His forces also turned over in 1949 what in Palestine is known as the "little triangle," after the creation of the state and after the end of the so called Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Later in 1949 his forces retreated and allowed the Zionist forces to grab more Palestinian land in the Naqab area reaching Um Rashrash (Eilat).

In 1967, with the famous June war, we Palestinians know also how more land was lost to the Israelis. If it weren't for individual endeavours by Jordanian army personnel or the masses who felt it their duty to defend themselves, there would have been no battles at all. Hussein ordered his army and officers to pull back to the Jordan River before the war even started on June 5.

The only exception to Jordan's history of passivity regarding the Palestinian struggle was in Karameh in March 1968. But then the Jordanian army got involved without planning to and those who did so were later duly rewarded by the Amman regime.

Hussein in his press conference was not lying at all. The United States and Israel should not really fear this aid. It's the people of Palestine and Arab peoples who should worry. These peoples should do all they can to confront Hussein's attempt and foil it.

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American Election Fever Hits Arab Heads of State

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

Arab heads of state are now talking of the coming American elections as a reason to put the Palestinian problem on the back burner, confirming in a way their belief that a solution is in American hands.

Arab governments' dependence on the US goes far beyond American technology, agricultural products and weapons. The top item on Arab leaders' minds is the survival of their political systems, which they believe can be best guaranteed by the US. After their survival come other issues, including some aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Threats to the survival of the Arab regimes, ironically, come either from their own people or from Israel. While the US can help in both cases, it is unwilling to protect them from Israel, whose expansion at their expense has not yet convinced Arab heads of state to rely on themselves or look for a new, possibly more reliable, protector.

Arab governments' reliance on the US, in addition to securing their survival, is apparently based on their conviction that due to Israel's full dependence on the US, it will be careful in not angering its only ally, and thus accept a US-mediated peace. Despite repeated proof that the US is either unwilling or possibly incapable of influencing Israeli policy, Arab trust and reliance on the US is not only unchanged, but also increasing.

Balance of Terror

It has been agreed upon beyond any doubt that the weakness of one party to a conflict, or even a perceived weakness, provides an incentive, maybe even naturally so, for more aggression. The American president, aware of this point, turned down suggestions for a freeze on nuclear weapons and missiles development because, he argued, US "weakness" may invite trouble from adversaries. The USSR's leaders are also well aware of this point, and thus the world now is in the midst of an arms race.

When it comes to the Middle East, however, the US openly and proudly recommits itself to maintaining Israeli military superiority. The rationale, and it is only a rationale, is that if Israel loses its military superiority, the Arabs will overwhelm it militarily, and that Israel will never use that superiority at the Arabs' expense. Israeli behaviour daily proves how wrong the US assessment is. It has been said many times that if the US government was genuinely interested in peace, it could simply ease the burden on American taxpayers by cutting down on the aproximately US$3 billion it gives to Israel annually, largely in the form of gifts. This, it is believed, will not tip the balance in the Arabs' favour, but it may convince Israel to consider peace on terms other than its own.

Since the US government is not about to deny Israel its military superiority for domestic and other reasons, it is incumbent on the Arab side to consider sources other than the US to bring realism to the Middle East. In the absence of the "stick" on the Arab side, the *status quo* in the Middle East will continue, and so will the Palestinian people's tragedy.

Amman II

In the absence of an American desire to push for an acceptable solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, coupled with an awareness that superficially the issue must continuously be tackled, American officials issue statements relating to events in the region. One of these statements was issued immediately after PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's visit to Cairo. The State Department, through its spokesperson on December 22, viewed PLO-Egyptian discussions "as an encouraging development given Egyptian adherence to the Camp David accords . . ." It is also known that the visit now is seen by the administration as a "quick flash in the pan."

According to highly reliable sources, the administration was very "surprised and disappointed" last April when the talks between King Hussein and Arafat were frozen. Without providing any incentive to the Arab side, the US would like the PLO to "self-destruct." The disappointment with Amman I was that Arafat didn't agree to authorise King Hussein or some mayors on the West Bank to enter the talks with Israel under the Camp David framework, and not even the Reagan plan since Israel had totally rejected it. The same sources hope "an agreement can be reached this time around." It is also clear to the source that there is "no evidence . . . to encourage such expectations."

The US, it is believed, demands the PLO disappear and the Palestinian people disavow the PLO and their right to self-determination, promising that once that is done maybe Israel will accept talking to King Hussein and to "credible" non-PLO Palestinians under the Camp David terms, because it is the only proposal Israel is willing to negotiate under. The reliable source mentioned previously also states openly that the Reagan plan "doesn't offer too much to the PLO," yet Israel considers the American president's plan a "mortal threat" to its survival. King Hussein, who has invited Chairman Arafat to continue the dialogue, was lectured by Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir, according to reports in the American press, that he should know that Israel will not talk to the PLO. Hussein then is told to stop wasting his time, also because, Shamir reportedly said, Israel stands by its rejection of the Reagan plan.

Allen Romberg, the State Department spokesperson, when asked about Hussein and Shamir's statements, didn't bother to answer them, referring reporters to standing American policy, which basically restates US government commitment to the Reagan plan and calls upon the Arabs to join the talks.

Election year fever is topping the American agenda and nothing, absolutely nothing, will be done by the US which may in the least anger Israel's friends. American officials both at the White House and, surprisingly, at the State Department as well, have refused to answer questions about Israel's behaviour in the occupied territories, which previously they would have criticised and possibly condemned. American elections and their effect on the Palestinians have so penetrated Arab political behaviour as to paralyse those governments for two years every presidential election. Recently many statements attributed to Arab leaders imply that due to American elections nothing is expected to occur, thus suggesting simply waiting until after those elections. PLO leaders apparently have become among those convinced that the US holds more than its share of the cards for a Middle East solution.

With the American Marines stuck in Beirut, nothing would make the administration happier than facilitating their return before election day. The Arabs can help for their own good and then demand the "quo" in return for their "quid". A Palestinian intellectual recently told *Al Fajr* that the Arab side in the Middle East conflict lacks a strategy. There is no better strategy than to be powerful, not necessarily to fight and destroy but to convince Arab adversaries that it is in their interest to consider an acceptable solution.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Where Does Yasir Arafat Go From Here?

by Walid Khalidi

Israel had the power to bomb Yasir Arafat and his four thousand out of the water as they sailed away from Tripoli yesterday. It was deterred partly by the nationality (Greek and French) of the ships transporting and escorting the Palestinians, partly by the UN sponsorship of the evacuation, but largely by the presumably dissuasive advice of Washington to its recently declared strategic partner.

This is just as well, since the standing (such as it is) of the United States in the Mideast would unlikely be consolidated by the Arab and Muslim perception of Washington's collusion in the death by drowning, or worse, of Arafat and his comrades.

Arafat got himself into this mess in Tripoli as a result of several factors. Dissidents in his group, Fatah, had five major grievances against him:

(1) He left Beirut in 1982 instead of calling the Israeli bluff and fighting on.

(2) He naively trusted in US assurances concerning the safety of Palestinian civilians (including relatives of the dissidents themselves) left behind in Beirut.

(3) He had virtually called off the armed struggle against Israel when he scrupulously observed the ceasefire negotiated by Philip Habib in July 1981 a year before the Israeli invasion.

(4) He was unmistakably tilting towards exclusive reliance on diplomacy (the Fez 2 resolutions) and on the United States (his flirtation with King Hussein with regard to the Reagan peace plan).

(5) He was clearly groping for a formula of coexistence with, and recognition of, Israel, as shown further by his meetings with Israeli doves both during and after the siege of Beirut.

His tactical mistake at the start of the dissident movement, in appointing discredited military officers to replace the dissident military commanders (who had distinguished themselves during the siege of Beirut), was the straw that broke the camel's back.

Three Grievances

The Fatah dissidents would have made little headway but for the support of PLO groups sponsored by Syria. In addition to the bad chemistry between President Hafez Assad and Arafat, which went back to the early 1970s, Syria had three major grievances against Arafat:

(1) His pursuit of autonomous Palestinian decision-making on a Mideast settlement more often than not ignored the past, present and future role and weight of Syria in the conflict with Israel.

(2) He consorted with Syria's rivals (negotiations with Jordan's King Hussein on the Reagan plan and the maintenance of a line of communication with Egypt).

(3) He repeatedly and gratujtously snubbed Syria, particularly after his evacuation of Beirut.

Arafat had, for example, refused to be evacuated to Syria; his first port of call after leaving Beirut was Athens; he established his new headquarters in Tunis; and he held the first meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers, not Damascus.

Pressing the Offensive

All these moves were seen by Assad as meaning (which they did) that Arafat considered that he and the PLO had been left in the lurch by Syria during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the siege of Beirut.

Outside the immediate circles of the dissidents, Arafat would not be faulted for these misdemeanors by many Palestinians and other Arabs — except, perhaps, for his reliance on US assurances concerning the safety of the civilian inhabitants of Sabra and Shatila.

Even if there were Palestinians who sympathised with some of the other grievances of the dissidents, it is doubtful whether much sympathy could have survived the ruthlessness and moronic self-destructiveness with which the dissidents have pressed their offensive against the refugee camps on the outskirts of Tripoli.

A war launched by Palestinian guerrillas against Palestinian guerrillas some 100 miles from the border of Israel is not a self-evident contribution to the armed struggle against Zionism. The killing of Palestinian (and Lebanese) women and children by Palestinian guerrillas is no feather in the cap of any dissident "reformist." The humiliation of the symbol of Palestinian nationhood by his erstwhile troops does little to enhance the image and international standing of the PLO.

That this is how the matter is seen outside the dissidents' immediate circles is shown by several indications. The founding fathers of Fatah (except for Abu Saleh, the eccentric political leader of the dissident movement) have all rallied around Arafat. George Habash's PFLP and Nayef Hawatmeh's DFLP, the two principal groups in the PLO after Fatah, were clearly anguished by the warfare, never took part in it and worked for reconcilation.

Outrage

The population of the occupied territories was outraged by the conduct of the dissidents, and the Mufti (the highest Muslim religious authority) of Jerusalem gave expression to this feeling when he called for the "excommunication" of the dissident leaders. The mothers of both Abu Saleh and Col. Abu Musa (the military leader of the dissident movement), both of whom live under Israeli occupaton on the West Bank, publicly appealed to their sons to desist. A poll taken on the West Bank in November by the magazine *al-Bayader* revealed a 97 percent vote in favour of Arafat.

Not one voice was raised in the Palestinian diaspora outside Syria in favour of the dissident movement. There are indicatons that Abu Musa himself (a courageous, highly competent military officer with little political understanding) may already have come to the conclusion that things have gone much too far. In short, like Mark Twain, Arafat could say that Western forecasts of his "political" death are somewhat exaggerated.

Three Assumptions

There are three assumptions on which these forecasts have been based:

(1) Arafat's political prestige is a reflection of his military power. Arafat never possessed significant military power against Israel — only against a fragmented Lebanese army and the Phalangists. His political prestige within the Palestinian and Arab constituencies is a reflection of the strength and appeal of his cause, not the quantity or quality of his weapons. No one expected Arafat to defeat Israel in 1982. The mere fact that Israel launched such a massive campaign against him and the PLO is a plus, not a minus, for Arafat. The question that Palestinians ask themselves is, "Why does Israel want so badly to destroy Arafat and the PLO?" And their answer, of course, is, "Because Arafat is standing up for us."

(2) The attempted humiliation of Arafat by the dissidents would humiliate him in the eyes of his Palestinian constituencies. Again, the question the Palestinians ask themselves is, "Why do the sponsors of the dissidents so badly want to humiliate Arafat?" And again the answer is, "Because Arafat is standing up for us." Accountability in a battered, hounded, dispersed underdog community struggling for survival and the preservation of its identity is governed by different ground rules from those that obtain in a settled, secure, territorially based community.

(3) King Hussein and Palestinian "moderates" would take courage from the downfall of Arafat and rush to embrace the Reagan peace plan whether Arafat agreed or not. If the comments on the two other assumptions are valid, then there is no downfall of Arafat. But even if there were, where is the Reagan plan?

Key Factor

A key factor in the unfolding situation is the future behaviour of Arafat himself. Will he seek from Tunis a reconciliation with Syria and through it with some of the dissidents, or will he pursue a policy of confrontation with Syria?

Barring an Israel invasion of Syria between now and the next presidential inauguaration in Washington, Arafat's choice of either option is likely to affect the future of a Mideast settlement as much as any other single regional development. One would hope that he would choose reconciliation with Syria. (Reprinted from The Boston Globe)

Walid Khalidi is professor of political studies at the American University in Beirut and research fellow at the Centre for Middle Eastern Studies at Havard.

'I Wouldn't Want to be in His Skin'

by Thoma Shick

Amnon Rubinstein, MK for the liberal Shinui Party, tries in his article *What is a Jew* (reprinted in *Al Fajr*, January 5) to succeed where many before him failed: to have his cake and eat it too. In his critique of growing *apartheid* in Israel he harshly attacks the national-religious Zionism embodied in Gush Emunim and its direct and tacit religious and "secular" supporters, while taking for granted that "Zionism was different before 1967" (and, of course, that means if the Labour Alignment comes back to power it'll be different — and "good" — again) and that Judaism as such "has a humane tradition."

It is obvious and accepted that there are some good elements in the worst social phenomena. However, when we relate to any phenomenon we must exmaine its general and dominating trend and practices. There are reasons for everything. Evolution and developments occur. But what counts is the general fact, not the general statement or the illusionary vision of something.

Let's relate to Rubinstein's points individually:

1. Rubinstein complains about a rabbi who explained in nice words that Jewish law orders genocide. He rebels against this statement by describing the rabbi's elaborations "as *Halachaic*." He does this at least twice in the article. He protects the faith while surely knowing that it strongly differentiates between Jew and non-Jew, the "gentile" ('arel) and the "people" (goy). He surely knows the popular use of the terms *shegetz* (originally *sheqetz* - "unclean creature," reptile) for "a young devil" or in its feminine form *shiqsseh* (originally: *shiqtzah*) colloquially meaning "forbidden (non-Jewish) girl," equivalent of 'prostitute'.

He knows that Judaism is an archaic faith that was kept "alive" in rigid and stagnated ways of life while at least parts of the Christian world developed to more openness. In most countries, separation between religion and people, and church and state, has taken place, while Judaism still incorporates both religion and peoplehood. And this is indeed the problem of Rubinstein and his ilk. They sense that without some kind of Jewish belief or religion they will lose their faith in their peoplehood. Therefore, even when he attacks clericalism, he defends religion, although he is totally secular.

I wish to challenge Rubinstein's defence of Judaism on the issue of genocide: Judaism does claim *amaleqs* (Amalekites: a desert tribe the Israelites fought) should be killed wherever they are. And this term may be attached to any and every "enemy of Israel" at any time. Just recently I heard on Israel Radio a mother's complaint that her young child's elementary school teacher explained the term *amaleq* in Bible class as being "like the Arabs."

2. Rubinstein says he is afraid to quote "what rabbis say nowadays." But they said the same things earlier because of the same anachronism that Judaism constitutes ownership of the sole mighty God who has chosen this people as protegees.

Since religion in general, and Judaism in particular, is a stagnation of ideas, concepts and approaches from earlier ages, anything social based to whatever extent on religion will tend towards stagnation and reaction. Thus, even if Zionism's initial aim was human-

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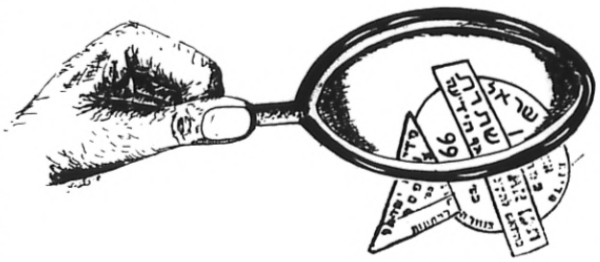
Review of Censorship in the West Bank

by Hanna Assadi



Israeli researcher Meron Benvenisti has been beavering away doing research on the West Bank for over a year for his West Bank Data Base Project. Results are being released in dribs and drabs in a series of reports, each of which whets the appetite for more. His latest release puts Israeli censorship under the microscope. Like his others it draws together various strands of Israel's military activity in the area and allows a general perspective to be taken.

His findings, presented with academic detachment, provide a damning indictment of Israeli military authorities who earn their living sweet-talking the West into believing all is well in the territories they occupy and of civilian apologists — particularly in the Israeli Journalists Federation — who are only too willing to take up the cudgels in international fora. Benvenisti's report will provide an invaluable yardstick against which the utterances of such people can be measured.

The study, *Israeli Censorship of Arab Publications*, deals in two separate sections with the censorship of newspapers and books. It was financed by the New York-based Fund for Free Expression and was prompted by the murmurings in the US which followed the discovery by *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis of the extent and secrecy of the Israeli military's outlawing of literature in the occupied territories. Hats off to them.

Benvenisti concludes that the Israeli censors are fighting a battle against legitimacy. He says the censors' primary concern is to "eradicate expression that could foster Palestinian national feelings or that suggests that Palestinians are a nation with a national heritage." A mammoth task perhaps but one which anyone who has worked under an Israeli censor's pencil would confirm is the approach they take. In his introduction Benvenisti says that the censor "sees the *mere publication* (his emphasis) of a nationalist Palestinian paper, irrespective of its contents, as a provocation..." This is the 'psychological' background which caused approximately one-third of *Al Fajr* Palestinian Weekly's material to be struck out last year. The study proper opens with an overview of the laws and legal norms which give soldiers the full power to go about the task.

Dina Goren, who wrote the overview, starts way back. She points to the fact that Israel's founding fathers were mainly of Eastern European stock whose vision of democracy did not give the same weight to freedom of expression and of the press as Westerners. They are not, she points out, "considered to be essential components of a democratic belief system." She quoted Israeli public opinion polls to support her assertion. Israeli journalists, she says, were co-opted early on into a series of gentlemen's agreements under which they undertook not to rock the boat, and even to try and keep it stable, in return for inner sanctum access in the form of the editors' committee.

This committee of editors of the major newspapers and broadcasting media were given off-the-record briefings by successive administrations in return for an undertaking toeing a mutually acceptable line. Both sides agreed not to go to the courts to settle their disputes and thus question British-drafted draconian anti-press legislation. Goren points out: "The possibility of applying these restrictive measures to parties excluded from the gentlemen's agreements also contributed to the preservation of the legislation. As a result, a useful, though reprehensible, pattern of double standards could evolve. This helps to explain the almost total indifference of the Israeli news media to the application of restrictive press laws to Arabic language newspapers in Jerusalem and the (occupied) territories."

And what beauties those laws are. The 1933 Press Ordinance, incorporated into Israeli law in 1948, calls for the licensing of newspapers, government regulation and supervision of content and penal and administrative sanction against violators. It was under this ordinance that Minister of the Interior Yosef Burg closed *Al Fajr* in 1981 for "incitement to commit acts of murder and terror," a decision that was upheld by an Israeli court despite the fact that government lawyers could not point to any sentence, collection of sentences or article which would so incite. Next came the Defence Emergency Regulations (1945) which established military censorship — and it is particularly these laws that the editors' committee was established to circumvent, thus removing the potential of a powerful group to lobby for their repeal. These are the two edges of the sword waving over the heads of Palestinian papers. There are other laws governing such things as libel but these are not relevant here.

Goren points out that although Arabic papers are subject to the same laws as Israelis "the difference in practice is immense." There is no voluntary self-censorship, no defined list of subjects on which censorship applies, no mechanism for appeal and no Knesset supervision for the press in the occupied half of Jerusalem. The attitude of Palestinian journalists to the problems of censorship and their work is covered by reprinting a symposium conducted by *Al Dastur* in Jordan in 1980. Important points are made by former editor of Arabic *Al Fajr* Ma'moun al-Sayyed, *Al Sha'ab* Editor Akram Haniya and reporters Adel Samara and Abd al-Latif Gheith about the national stance and role of the East Jerusalem press and the 'cat and mouse' game it is forced to play with military censors.

The censors' side of the battle is represented in an affidavit submitted by them to the Israeli High Court in August 1982 in which it interprets Palestinian patriotism as meaning "... the destruction of the state of Israel, refusal to recognise the national existence of the Jewish people and its national rights." The censors said the style of Palestinian papers is simply a "secret call for armed struggle."

The major importance of the study lies in its sampling of censored articles. These are broken down by topic and newspaper. Samples of censored material are appended to this section and photocopies of the censors' art attached for added emphasis. No attempt is made to analyse the results given. This has the advantage of allowing individual readers to form their own opinion of the facts presented but could perhaps have been better used in furthering an examination of the censors' fight on the issue of legitimacy. It is striking that each of the four publications chosen are hit most strongly in different areas: articles about Israeli coercive measures provide 22 percent of the material censored out of Arabic *Al Fajr*; for *Al Fajr* Palestinian Weekly, the Lebanon war coverage provided the same percentage; 42 percent of articles censored out of *Al Sha'ab* were on the same subject while half of *Al Shira'* articles crossed out by the military censor dealt with 'foreign support for Palestinians'. There is virtually no correlation between the topics cut and between papers; many of the topic headings have entries for only one paper. For instance, peace plans, poetry and letters to the editor were only censored from *Al Fajr* Palestinian Weekly. The list is much longer for our Arabic sister-paper.

While newspaper censorship is governed by laws drawn up by the British the Israelis produced their own inimical rules for books. Military order 101 allows, *inter alia*, for the appointment of a censor to whom all books have to be submitted before distribution. In 1982 a master list of 1022 books was published as the official banned list. Before that a jumble of military orders containing the names of outlawed publications were in the possession of the military but not the public. It was Anthony Lewis' revelation of this state of affairs and the fact that classics of modern Western literature such as *1984* by George Orwell were included on it that caused the revision. Benvenisti points out that there are another 600 titles which have been banned since 1982 but these are on "mimeographed, error-ridden lists."

MO 101 was amended by MO 1079 — the first for 1984 — to include the illegalisation of political 'sounds' and some forms of bell ringing.

Of the books studied, just over one-quarter are literature and poetry; the rest deal with a variety of technical, academic, scientific and cultural topics. Benvenisti points out that while the books censored represent only a small proportion of the books available in the occupied territories — 3-4 percent of titles — it represents "*100 percent of all works that express, instill, or foster Palestinian Arab national feelings or national heritage*" (emphasis in the original). To get some idea of what the censors find so objectionable a sample of books of various categories was taken and reviewed by two Israelis and one Palestinian who submitted reports and estimated possible reasons for the cutting. Their report constitutes the bulk of this section.

In some cases reviewers could ascertain no reasons at all why the titles were banned — the censor of course is not required (unlike South Africa for instance) to provide any explanation. What is most striking, however, is that in the majority of cases reviewers estimate that the decision was taken on the basis of a few sentences or words. There is no appeal against the omnipotent censor.

The Benvenisti report is interesting and informative even to someone with years of experience on the receiving end of censorship; it deserves wide distribution. It is not, and does not claim to be, either the definitive work or a campaign document and more work needs to be done. In the first category some enterprising writer could undertake to fill in the detail in the broad canvas Benvenisti has painted about the work of local journalists. Perhaps the most important fact about the whole study is that it came about because of a few articles by one man, and indeed these articles are solely responsible for removing several hundred publications from the banned books list. The study in question, either alone or in conjunction with other work, would make ideal weapons in the battle to mobilise reporters and writers in the international community and Lewis' victory holds out the prospect of success.

It would be improper to end a review, however, without pointing to one major anomaly in Benvenisti's work. He begins the section of summary and conclusions with a bizarre and specious balancing act. Stating that the struggle over censorship is part of the larger struggle between Palestinians and Israelis, he asserts, "Both sides view censorship as a method of denying the other side legitimacy." It is common among Israeli liberals to try and establish some kind of dichotomy like this to excuse their own impotence or inactivity. This reviewer is at a loss to understand why Benvenisti, who clearly makes his appeal to an academic audience where professionalism should be the sole criteria, should revert to such subterfuge.

It is particularly disquieting that the phrase above should be trotted out for he does not provide, nor is there, any proof of the existence of *any kind* of Palestinian military censors. It is indeed hoped that when the Palestinians are in a position to establish a censorship office they will resist the temptation. There are Palestinian journalists who wouldn't mind the malicious pleasure of arbitrarily slashing a few copies of *HaAretz* or *The Jerusalem Post* just to see how their Israeli colleagues would react under a system they condone by their silence. But living as they do in the Orwellian world where the censor holds sway, few people in the profession in the occupied territories can articulate any useful purpose for a censor, other than as an agent of repression.

That having been said let us join Benvenisti in his conclusion: "Despite the pervasiveness of censorship, the censors—like their counterparts throughout history — are fighting a losing battle. In this instance, the censors' struggle is particularly pathetic because of the proliferating technology of communication from Arab states that penetrates the West Bank and because of the emergence of new and powerful intellectual centres in the West Bank itself.

"Yet the struggle over censorship will persist as the struggle over legitimacy will persist, until both sides abandon the view that they are engaged in a game that only one can win."

'Sedentarisation' is the term sociologists use to describe the settling of nomadic or semi-nomadic people in permanent communities. Awad Abdel Fattah of *Al Fajr* found the same term is used to describe the process of land grabbing and forced eviction in the Naqab.

The Forced Concentration of the Naqab Beduin

Two angles on Beduin life in the Naqab today. Above, the village of Laqiyya whose inhabitants were evicted from their homes soon after the establishment of the state of Israel. They were allowed to return in 1975. Below, Um Amud, temporary station for semi-nomadic Beduin./JS photos

The Beduin believe that the planning of Beduin settlements in the Naqab came about because of the state's desire to acquire private Beduin land for Israeli settlements and to secure Beduin manpower for the Israeli labour market... "They built us model towns without land. How shall we subsist?"

Former Israeli President Yitzhak Navon in a Green Patrol jeep. The destructive activities of the Green Patrol have been instrumental in the effort to concentrate the Beduin to specified areas.

Making Beduin Reservations

The plan to forcibly move the Beduin of the Naqab into townships is being pushed ahead by the Israeli authorities. Two reservation-like townships already have been constructed with populations of approximately 20,000. Four others are underway. The remaining Beduin — an estimated 23,000 — are still on their own land and refusing to move. But the facts in the field prove that the Beduin cannot determine their own fate. There have been hundreds of complaints from many tribes, some from the "modern project," against Green Patrollers, the paramilitary wing of Israel's nature conservancy body, for making surprise attacks, tearing down tents or destroying shacks and permanent houses. Through this process within a few minutes a Beduin tribe can become without its land, without its home and without its flocks.

Beduin who have moved to Israeli-planned settlements, either willingly or under duress, have become wage-labourers in Israeli-owned industries. Their former way of life, based on farming and livestock raising, is more valuable than ever, however, due to the rising unemployment which is sweeping Israel.

The Beduin who live in spontaneous settlements or in distantly-scattered tents and shacks oppose forced resettlement for precisely this reason. However, in some cases they have agreed to the principle of expropriation of land in return for government commitments to establish settlements based on a mixed economy. They are asking for fair compensation for land expropriated from them and wish to live a way of live of their own choosing, which for most of them means in agriculture. At the same time they have the feeling of being forced into a way of life which they are not used to and being stripped of their livelihood.

History of Forced Transfers

In the last 36 years the Beduin of the Naqab have not had a moment's rest. Under the disguise of security and the Orientalist "necessity of bringing Beduin to a settled way of life," they have been uprooted and trucked from their original land to other areas by the Israeli authorities. The use of force, intimidation, economic pressure and bribery have been employed to gather the Beduin into population concentrations.

Since the occupation of the Naqab by Israeli forces in 1948, the Beduin who remained in Israel have been systematically grouped into certain areas called reservations or closed areas in northern and central Naqab. During the years of martial rule, 1948-1963, which was imposed on all Palestinian communities including the Naqab Beduin, they were forbidden to leave these designated areas without a permit.

Between 1948-1951 the tribes of the western Naqab were put on trucks and taken by the Israeli authorities to a 50-square-kilometre reservation between Beer Sheba and the Jewish development town of Arad where other tribes were already living. Security was given as the reason.

In the same period about 17,000 Beduin were expelled to the then-Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip and to Jordan. According to one Beduin sheikh, some members of the al-Azazmeh tribe were expelled as late as 1953-1954. Others fled to Jordan fearing massacres. A UN report in 1953 stated that 7000 Beduin had been expelled.

This "security" practice continued for eleven years after the establishment of the state of Israel: in 1959 even more Beduin were banished to Egypt and Jordan. "It was only after the United Nations intervened that such operations were halted," said Suleiman al-Sane', an old man who with his tribe remained in Palestine by virtue of the UN intervention. He explained, "We were concentrated by the Israelis at a point on the Jordanian border in order to be expelled to Jordan."

The al-Sane' tribe, which today is 6000-strong, were only allowed to return to their original village Laqiyya in 1975, and then by default. The Israelis needed the land on which they had resettled them. However, this return to their ancient home did not mean they got back the land they were forced off of in 1948. Each family was allowed only to set up one shack on a one-dunum plot and no more.

After the withdrawal of martial rule, the tribes who had been transferred from the western Naqab and rounded up and confined to reservations were barred from returning to their traditional homes. The land from which the Beduin tribes had been moved was declared "abandoned" and subsequently expropriated by Israel under the "Law of Absentee Property." A part was given to Israeli settlements, other areas for military bases and the rest left untouched.

The dispossessed tribes now in 'reservations' were 'allowed' by the government to use the reservations' land. They lease it for periods of only nine months and tree planting or building houses is forbidden. The purpose was and still is to prevent the development of strong ties to specific areas. "We were forcibly evicted from our land in 1951," said Skeikh Khalil Abu Amr, one of those put on the reservation. "We were promised other land but we did not get it. They leased us parcels here and there for short periods so that we could not sink roots." Another skeikh added, "By trickery and by force we were transferred from our locations; they did not even let us cultivate the land at our present home."

The Israeli government does not recognise Beduin claims to their land although many have title deeds proving ownership. It defines ownership in legal terms based on the 1858 Ottoman land law and the British decree of *mawaat* (uncultivated) land in 1921. These norms were codified in Israel's property law of 1969. According to the laws of 1858 and 1921, private land was recognised only if registered with the government; otherwise it was considered state land. According to the tribal heads, some Beduin did not register their land, either from laziness or ignorance or more commonly to avoid taxes. Traditionally, however, unlike Palestinian peasants, Beduin recognised individual ownership. This is partially academic, however, for both land with title deeds and without has been confiscated. Beduin have become experts in which several Israeli laws have been used to take over their land. "We have title deeds for land," said Abu Amr, "but they tell us our documents from Turkish days are not proof of ownership... some try to link our land with the matter of absentee Arabs. We are not absentees. We did not leave our country."

Israel Uses Subtle Ways

The Israeli officials claim that the government policy towards the Beduin of the Naqab is to encourage and assist their transformation from a nomadic or semi-nomadic life to permanent settlements on the land. They also claim that it is not possible to provide basic services for the Beduin when they are scattered in disparate places. A recent official government publication stated: "a major effort is now being made to persuade the Beduin to give up their nomadic way of life and settle down permanently."

Such claims are viewed with suspicion and wonder by Beduin themselves. Alian al-Sane', a former teacher from Laqiyya, told *Al Fajr*, "The fact that our village is still without all basic services shows up all Israel's allegations as lies. There have been a number of permanent Beduin settlements besides Laqiyya and the Israeli government could have helped to develop them but it didn't." Another Laqiyyan said that all the talk of a "major effort" to persuade the Beduin has often been used to disguise the fact that this alleged persuasion has in many cases taken the form of violence and "the ruthless dispossession of our traditional lands."

Within a plan called encouraging the Beduin to "abandon their nomadic life" the Israelis used subtle ways in the early stages to gather the Beduin. During the 1950s the military administration allowed tribes which were dispersed by the 1948 war to reunify and eased its strict control to some extent.

According to one Israeli researcher on Beduin affairs, once the tribes regrouped the authorities adopted measures of administering the territory through tribal heads "because the Israelis discovered that it would be more acceptable for a Beduin to take orders from the head of the tribe than from an alien authority." The same researcher concludes that the education system was seen as a means through which the "process of sedentarisation is being reinforced."

In 1949 the Israeli government introduced a compulsory education law which compelled all Beduin children to attend school for at least eight years and for this purpose a few schools were built later. The heads of tribes were put in charge of education committees and fund-raising for projects. Until the late 1960s most of the so-called schools were without even the most basic teaching aids. "There weren't even enough chairs so some of the children were forced to sit on the ground," recalls Alian al-Sane'.

Because of the imposition of military rule and the confinement to reservations in the allotted area many of the Naqab Beduin were forced to build new permanent structures within the 'closed areas.' "But these restrictive measures," said Dov Koller, an Israeli human rights activist who has been studying Beduin affairs for many years, "led to a sharp reduction of grazing and farming areas and caused economic and social changes which shook the very roots on which Beduin culture is based."

The Israelis have always claimed that the Beduin are 'squatters' and 'conquerors' of 'state land' "But contrary to these allegations and widespread misconceptions," said Koller, "the Beduin of the Naqab are not nomadic as in the disant past. They always depended on agriculture as well as livestock." Data collected by the Beer Sheba University in the Naqab supports this fact. It reveals that there were 1400 trees of all kinds including grapevines in Tel al-Milh before the Israelis built their airbases there. The university also listed 244 cement houses, 354 houses and 87 tents lived in by 6000 people. But after the Israeli-Egyptian Camp David accords were signed, the Israelis chose exactly this heavily populated area to build alternative airbases on to replace those situated in the Sinai.

Tel Sabe'

The first attempt by the Israelis to settle the Beduin in "modern and permanent settlements" came 17 years ago. About six kilometres west of Beer Sheba, in the middle of the desert, Tel Sabe' stands today with its box-like houses. It marks the first Beduin settlement. But a number of modern two-storey buildings have recently been built around the original houses.

Construction was started in Tel Sabe' by the Israeli housing ministry in 1966 with 49 small huts. Running water, electricity, schools and some medical services were provided. The initial residential unit was a single-family two-room house.

Tel Sabe' is located about two kilometres from the Israeli settlement of Omer. A look from one of the hills surrounding the two settlements exposes the sharp differences between them. Omer looks like a lush oasis with well-watered crops surrounding it while Tel Sabe' is barren.

Despite the promise of modern facilities Beduin were unwilling to move to Tel Sabe' and purchase the subsidised houses. Most remained empty and were later occupied by Arab teachers who came from the Galilee and the triangle to teach in local schools.

Israelis never understood the exact reason for the failure of Tel Sabe' although some academics came close. In his book *The End of Nomadic Life*, Avshalom Shmueli suggested that Beduin sheikhs refused to cooperate because "they viewed the Tel Sabe' model as an attempt to solve the 'problem' of nomadism of the Beduin without solving the question of ownership of the land which they claim." Others claimed that Tel Sabe' was planned as a relatively high-density pattern in contrast to the scattered low-density pattern of Beduin-established settlements. Another explanation is that according to the purchase contract, the new house owner would only have a 49-year lease on the land on which his home stands. To get this he would be required to give up his original land. The few Beduin who moved to Tel Sabe' were either landless or had already had all their property grabbed by the Israelis and received some money.

After the failure of the Tel Sabe' plan the Israeli authorities adopted a new policy in which they chose the sites, drew up plots and then left the Beduin to build their own homes according to their individual financial capabilities.

About 8000 Beduin live in modern houses in Rahat, a new township located west of Beer Sheba. In Tel Sabe', scores of Beduin families have built their own houses. On the site of the Beduin encampment of Kseifa, on the Beer Sheba-Arad road, dozens of families, most of them evicted from Tel al-Milh, are in the process of building. Kseifa is designed by the Israeli government to be their permanent settlement. Mohammed Abu Rabi'a, who was forced off his land in Tel al-Milh and saw his stone house there destroyed a year ago, told *Al Fajr*, "I am now building a modern house with electricity and running water, but I was left with nothing to live on except as a wage labourer." Abu Rabi'a was stripped of 150 dunums which he cultivated along with his brothers. Today he leases land from Israel's land administration, but next year he will not be able to use the same plot. "For me," recalls Abu Rabi'a, "the day I was forced off my land was a black one."

Abu Rabi'a exemplifies the other families forced into the new settlement. Some evicted families have not yet built their houses because they cannot afford to. The maximum government loan is only IS6000, "which barely covers 35 percent of the cost," said one evicted Beduin.

There are still some 2-3000 Beduin in the Tel al-Milh area who refuse to leave until they are offered what they consider fair compensation and alternative agricultural land. The amount of compensation the Israeli government has offered is 15 percent of that offered to Israeli settlers who were evacuated from Yamit settlement in the Sinai in 1982.

The land acquisition law which was passed by the Israeli Knesset in 1980 *a priori* excludes appeal through the courts. All the Beduin could do was hold protest meetings, write letters, hold press conferences and in some cases try to halt the bulldozers with their bodies. In the struggle, several people were arrested and fined.

Elaborating on the subject Dov Koller said, "Since the founding of the state of Israel in 1948 about two-thirds of the 43,000 Beduin have been forced off their land through land seizures or general economic pressure to control the land and force them to give up the agricultural way of life."

The land acquisition law provides that a Beduin owning 100 dunums or more can retain an equivalent of five percent of his holdings if he wants irrigation at the location to which he will be moved or 20 percent without irrigation — about one-fifth of the amount allotted to Israeli settlers.

The Beduin viewed this proposal as unjust and asked for 50 dunums, 20 of them irrigated. So far there has been no agreement and all the while Beduin tribes are being pushed out of the area, says Koller. Commenting on Israeli government claims that there is not enough water for irrigation for the Beduin, one Israeli remarked recently about the suburb in which he lives outside Beer Sheba: "They tell the Beduin there is no water for them and then they water their lawns all day."

Forced Resettlement

In the beginning, the Israeli plan of concentrating the Beduin in townships around Beer Sheba where their only source of livelihood would be wage labour was implemented slowly and without explicit use of force. But since the Likud coalition took power in 1977, the plan has taken on a more brutal form. A paramilitary force called the 'Green Patrol', which was formed by the Labour government as a branch of the Nature Conservancy Agency, became a main means employed by the Likud and its Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon to concentrate the Beduin into specified areas. The infamous 'Green Patrol' has torn down hundreds of tents and razed permanent housing units to the ground, often without even giving owners the chance to save their personal effects. Thousands of sheep and goats have been rounded up, allegedly for grazing in restricted areas, and taken to the quarantine compound in Beer Sheba from which they are released only on payment of a heavy fine. According to Gideon Banner, a lawyer closely involved with flock confiscation cases, a large number of seized goats and sheep were either slaughtered or immediately sold by the 'Green Patrol'. The patrols usually move under the pretext of violation of laws regulating the size and movement of herds or damage to crops belonging to Israeli settlements.

In an article on the extent of the patrols' depredations, *Middle East International* noted that 31 Beduin settlements were razed at the end of 1976 and that 54 additional "nuisance settlements" were scheduled for "ousting."

One of the biggest operations carried out by the Green Patrol was mounted in 1978 when about 35 members of the al-Azazmeh tribe were evicted from their traditional homes.

Avraham Yoffee, head of the Nature Conservancy Agency, claims the Green Patrol was established to "safeguard conservation areas and farm crops against the damage from grazing herds of sheep and goats." Alon Galili, head of the Green Patrol, is more blunt: "The Beduin problem is an extension of the wider Arab-Israeli struggle for the land," he said. "Stretches of land which the Israeli nation bought with blood and money are slipping through our fingers as a result of the Beduin reconquest of the land."

In an article in *The Jerusalem Post*, June 11, 1978, three Israeli ecologists stated that the issue of the Beduin is distorted by the Israeli government "as it tries to cover the complexity of the Beduin situation by describing it as a 'technical' problem, for example the problem of the movement and grazing of Beduin herds, and yet the government deals with the Beduin so much by administrative coercion and force." They added, "It seems, perhaps, the spreading of unsubstantiated allegations about the Beduin being security risks or in collaboration with Israel's enemies is an attempt to justify the use of force against loyal and peaceful citizens."

The Beduin believe that the planning of Beduin settlements in the Naqab came about because of the state's desire to acquire private Beduin land for Israeli settlements and secure Beduin manpower for the Israeli labour market. The whole process, they say, has been implemented by force and pressure and without the agreement of the Beduin population. Nuri al-Uqbi, head of the Beduin Rights Association, is quoted in an article in *New Outlook* magazine in 1976 as saying: "They built us model towns without land. How can we live in them? How shall we subsist? We are forced to work as cheap labourers for Israelis, to travel great distances and to return home only on weekends."

Another Beduin sheikh put it more simply: "Why do they make us choose between being cheap labour for the Israelis or a life of starvation?"

A plethora of articles have appeared recently, mostly based on police sources, predicting the imminent arrest of bands of Israelis organised in 'Terror Against Terror' (TNT). *Davar* West Bank correspondent Dani Rubinstein recently gave this background to the investigations. Meanwhile, TNT has been fingered as being behind the latest attack at al-Aqsa. Investigations continue.

Israeli Underground in the West Bank

The security people have collected evidence and details that point to Israeli suspects in the assassination attempts against the Arab mayors (in June 1980) and the attack on the Hebron University (in July 1983). Arrest has been postponed for the time being because of doubts that there is enough evidence for conviction.

What kind of Israeli underground activity is taking place in the West Bank and in the Jerusalem area? Who attempted to assassinate the Arab mayors and who attacked the Islamic College in Hebron? Where should the search start for those who put the grenades in the churches and mosques and who murdered Emil Greenzweig? It looks like a collection of insoluble mysteries. Indeed, the police and the security services hold information and evidence pointing to the suspects with a great measure of precision. However, bringing them to court demands a reasonable evidence collecting effort. There are cases, like the murder of Emil Greenzweig, in which the investigation did not lead in a clear direction, and others, like the attempt on the mayors and the attack on the Hebron University, in which the investigators have clear suspects and even some verbal and physical evidence.

In recent weeks senior security officers discussed and consulted on whether to arrest these suspects. One senior personality even said that the arrests and subsequent disclosures will be "sensational" and might cause social and political upheaval in the country. For the time being, they have been postponed because some investigators, and their superiors, hesitate in making the decision as to whether the evidence and information they have collected is sufficient for conviction.

(Since the assassination attempts on the Arab mayors in June 1980) I have collected as much data as possible on underground or quasi-underground activity and have seen the suspects several times. I talked with investigating officers, with senior officials, with jurists and with people who are close to the perpetrators of these acts. I don't have legal evidence for the conviction of the suspects, and certainly their names shouldn't be published.

The various activities and the people who are connected with them may be put in three categories: the most violent organised underground activity, including the assassination attempt on the mayors and the attack on the Islamic College; the actions of the group called TNT (Terror Against Terror) and it is quite sure that those involved in these actions are different from those in the first group; more or less spontaneous acts of retaliation against Arabs; and the hiding and concealing of evidence. These latter are not definitely part of an underground-type campaign, but call for much lower level organisations without the secret activity that characterises the first two categories. There are, of course, cases in which this distinction is blurred and the same people act in several groups.

In these reports (this is the first in a series — tr.), sometimes there is no escaping generalisations like "settlers," "Rabbi Kahane sympathisers," "reconverts to Judaism," etc, although this use might mean the defilement of a whole section of the public. This is not the intention. This is a sin also committed when writing about crime centres, the offences and drug (trading) in *Shekhunat Hatikva* or in No. 60 Street in Jaffa and, by that, offending the majority of innocent people who live there.

The most secret and violent organised underground group is the one that carried out the assassination attempt on the Arab mayors on June 2, 1980. A senior Israeli army officer who is well-acquainted with the case confirmed the assumption that people connected with that group attacked the Hebron Islamic University on July 27, 1983 and killed three students. It seems that the group was also connected with the placing of the sabotage device in Hebron market on the morning of the assassination attempt against the mayors (seven Arabs were injured as a result). And it is possible that the same people are connected with other cases such as the placing of grenades in a Hebron school during a football game on October 29, 1982 and near a mosque in the town on February 27, 1983.

Mayor Bassam Shaka'a in hospital (above) following 1980 assassination attempt. Hebron University student (right) lies in Alia Hospital, Hebron, after July 1983 attack. "For the Arabs of the occupied territories there is no fog nor confusion. They know exactly and certainly that Israelis attacked them and they also know why."

The first question that should be asked is: how do we know Israelis did it? There are conflicts and struggles among the Arabs and especially between PLO groups which are characterised by much bloodshed. Maybe there was a settling of accounts between Arabs? And perhaps these were cases of provocation by Arabs who wanted to make Israelis suspect? There were in recent years in the West Bank and Gaza many cases of murder of Arabs by Arabs. The *imam* Hashem Huzandar was murdered in Gaza following his public support for the Sadat peace initiative. Abd al-Nur Janho, of Ramallah, who was famous for collaboration with the Israeli rule, was murdered. Yusef Khatib, head of the Village League from Bil'in, was murdered and many suspected dealers and sellers of land to Israelis and informants for the security services were killed. In many such cases the Arab murderers were caught and imprisoned. Not even in one of these dozens of murders was there even suspicion of Israelis. (Guerrilla) organisations and Arab broadcasting stations and press proudly reported more than once that collaborators and traitors were executed in the occupied territories and there was no doubt that Arabs did that.

Just a few days ago an attempt was made to assassinate (or frighten) the dismissed mayor of Gaza Rashad Shawwa and again it was quite clear to all that Arab hands did it. It's a fact that there were published condemnations of the deed in the East Jerusalem press and it was hinted that Shawwa's political standpoints prompted the act.

Compare with this two cases: the assassination attempt on the mayors and the attack on the Islamic College. There, no Arab faction took responsibility for the deed and no Arab expressed satisfaction about it. Furthermore: the actions called for great technical expertise, much equipment, means of communication and a good level of organisation, that the Arab sabotage squads acting from time-to-time in the West Bank lack.

There is no suspicion that the attack on the Islamic College was committed by Arabs. This was a mass attack, aimed at killing Arabs indiscriminantly. Not only did Arab squads take no such actions in the past against Arabs in the (occupied) territories, but also such actions are almost impossible in the occupied territories. All the sabotage squads that were active in the (occupied) territories in recent years were made up of residents of the region.

The saboteurs who attacked Beit Hadassah (Dabboyya) for instance in May 1980 and who were caught were residents of Hebron and two nearby villages. They acted in the area of their homes and it's simply impossible that they would attack, indiscriminantly, at the Islamic College courtyard in which there might be members of their families, acquaintances and neighbours. The possibility that this attack and the assassination attempt against the Arab mayors was in the framework of Arab provocation intended to smear Israelis is also absent from the scene.

The investigators and security people who investigated the assassination attempts against the mayors and the attack on the Islamic College are certain that no Arabs are responsible for them. One of them says: "Believe me, that if Arab saboteurs in the (West) Bank had the arms, sabotage devices, equipment and vehicles used in these actions they would choose Israeli targets and no other. Essentially, why should we wrestle and go round-and-round in order to find Arab suspects when a whole complex of reasons and data point clearly to Israelis?"

It is a strange fact that the attackers of the Islamic College and the assassins of the Arab mayors didn't publicise their actions. It is strange because almost every terrorist underground in the world asks for responses by its secret actions. The underground endeavours to draw attention, to retreat, to frighten, to forward a certain message. In our case, the group that committed these actions kept total silence.

Why? The silence was directed primarily towards the state of Israel. The silence created a fog within the Israeli public, even confusion. Who committed it?

Many government spokesmen, many of the settlers' supporters and their sympathisers were helped, by this silence, to say: maybe they were Arabs? If the underground group stood up and announced its deeds in public (without revealing personnel, of course) there would be tremendous public pressure on the security factors to investigate and discover those responsible. Public pressure would bring the budgeting of much manpower and money for the investigations. Public pressure could bring forward people from the parts of the same underground to disclose details known to them.

There was an additional reason for the underground group's interest in keeping the Israelis public in the dark. They simply wanted not to be condemned, so that the political interests they represent would not be given the image of murderous terrorists. Therefore, they planted signs that it might have been Arabs who tried to assassinate the mayors and attacked the Islamic College. They wore *kafiyyas* and used Kalachnikovs (in the Islamic College attack) and used explosives that are almost unused in the Israeli army (in the assassination attempt).

The message of the underground group was not directed at the state of Israel but merely to the Arabs in the (West) Bank and Gaza (Strip). These actions were done to tell the Arabs: "We are here, we'll not let you harm us and every attack will draw a heavy response." The assassination attempt on the mayors was carried out exactly 30 days after the attack on Beit Hadassah (in which six settlers were killed). And the attack on the Islamic College in Hebron took place three weeks after the murder of the *yeshiva* student Aharon Gross not far from there. For the Arabs of the occupied territories there is no fog nor confusion. They know exactly and certainly that Israelis attacked them and they also know why.

This series of conclusions, according to which Israelis connected with Kiryat Arba and with the settlements committed both terrorist deeds, also implicate the security people who investigated the affairs among the settlers. The means are there, the organisational potential exists and most importantly, they had the clearest and most outstanding motivation to do it. (Translation: Davar, January 13, 1984).

Mu'in Bseiso: A Poet's History of Palestine

Mu'in Bseiso, 57, the famous Palestinian poet and a member of the Palestine National Council, died of a heart attack in the Intercontinental Hotel, London, January 24. His body was discovered in his room at 2:00 pm, an estimated 14 hours after his death.

A PLO statement said Bseiso was on an official mission when he died in London. The PLO office in London would not make a statement about the circumstances of the poet's death until an official medical report is published. The Bseiso family in Gaza published memorial notices in local newspapers. Bseiso leaves a wife, a son and two daughters.

A delegation from the Palestinian Journalists and Writers Federation, headed by Ghanem Zreqat, member of the union's secretariat, and an official PLO delegation is in London to arrange the transfer of Bseiso's body to Egypt and then to Jordan.

Bseiso was born in Gaza in 1927 and completed his elementary, preparatory and secondary studies there. He also studied at Gaza College and worked in journalism in Jaffa.

In 1947, Bseiso was accepted as a member of the National Liberation League, the Arab Palestine Communist Party. In September 1948, he travelled to Egypt to study art at the American University of Cairo. He graduated in 1952 and took an active part in the wave of demonstrations in January 1952 which led to the overthrow of the monarchy.

> "The poet has to climb, his feet torn, but continue to climb."

Back in Gaza he was harassed by the police and then fled to Iraq where he worked as a teacher. After a year there he was expelled and returned to Gaza to work as headmaster of an UNRWA school.

During the 1956 occupation of the Strip he was arrested by Israelis on charges of participating in the resistance movement. He was released when Israeli forces withdrew from Gaza in the same year. He spent many years in Egyptian prisons in the '60s on charges of membership in the Egyptian Communist Party.

Mu'in Bseiso held several high positions in PLO organisations; he was a member of the Palestine National Council, a member of the general secretariat of the PJWF and cultural advisor to PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir Arafat.

In 1981, he was awarded the Lotus Prize, the highest award of the Asian and African Writers Federation. He was also the editor of the federation's Arabic language organ, *Lotus*.

In November 1983, he participated in Palestine Cultural Week in London. He took part in a forum on Palestinian literature and gave an oral reading of his epic poem "I Start to Count Your Ribs."

Bseiso contributed to many Palestinian, Arab and international magazines and newspapers. His research, poetry and plays have been translated into many languages.

In 1982 Bseiso returned to Beirut at the start of the Israeli siege announcing he would prefer to die among the Palestinian people. Three days after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Bseiso wrote the poem "You Will Not Enter Beirut," which was broadcast by the Independent Nasserite *Mourabitoun* radio station in Beirut six or seven times a day throughout the siege.

A joint work with Mahmoud Darwish "To an Israeli Soldier" has been translated into many languages and hailed as a political-literary document of the Lebanon war.

In three decades of work, the militant Palestinian poet wrote and published 11 collections of poetry and an epic entitled "The Giant Made of Ears and Corn." His seven plays — "The Black Revolution," "Samson and Dalilah," "The Birds Built Nests Among Fingers," "The Mine," "The Trial of Kaleila and Demna," "The Boulder" and "Guevara Tragedy" — have been staged all over the world.

His published poetry includes "The Traveller," "The Battle," "When it Rains Stones," "A Giant of Ears," "Palestine in the Heart," "Trees Die Upright," "Poems on Window Glass," "I Came to Call You," "The Last Pirates are Birds" and "Now Take My Body, a Sack of Sand."

Bseiso, writing in 1979, left this definition of his life work: "Poetry must say what its identity is, and when it gave its identity the Palestinians identified themselves with it and wrote poetry on the rampart walls."

Al Talia weekly newspaper ran this eulogy of Mu'in Bseiso on its front page:

"The militant heart stopped. It beat only for freedom and peace. He died while at the highest peak of offering national and literary sacrifices to his people."

Mu'in Bseiso, a tributary of that river called the ramparts and fortifications of Beirut, still flows in the veins of Palestine. His life was an authentic mirror to the Palestinian reality outside of Palestine. His personal life was a modern revolutionary poem. He was always optimistic about the victory of the Palestinian revolution over Zionism. He said, "The law of revolution's ultimate victory is true."

In one of his early poems in the '50s, he wrote:

"The flood left nothing
of our people
from that country
but ropes and a pole.
But my eyes only saw
swollen corpses
— uncounted is their number.
Here rubble,
here death,
here drowning,
here scraps of bread
in a hand,
here dead eyes
and here lips
calling for tommorrow's revenge."

In an interview reprinted in *Al Fajr*, July 1,1983, Bseiso had this to say about Palestinian literature, his own work and how the war in Lebanon affected it:

Q: Mu'in Bseiso wrote once, "I carried you, Gaza, from the prison of oases to Maza jail." Are you still carrying the Palestinian grief?

A: As I was, but now I have a big strong bag. When wandering was not intense, when the travel was not far, I carried a small bag. Now I have to carry a strong one. I remember that when I phoned Mahmoud Darwish before leaving Beirut, he asked where I was going. I told him to Moscow, Cyprus or Athens. Darwish said: "We have in this stage to carry big, strong bags capable of steadfastness on the long journey."

Q: To what level did Arab and Palestinian poetry reach regarding the relationship between national-political and poetic concerns?

A: I do not believe that there is a separation between politics and poetry. The real poet shapes from these two streams his political and poetic existence. He derives themes from his principles and commitment to the cause he serves. The cause of the revolution for Palestinian poets is land, as progressive motifs are for other poets who struggle against military dictatorship to maintain progressive values.

If we examine the political and literary arenas of the Palestinian people, in particular during the past 10 years — the stage of the Palestinian national resistance against the American, Israeli and reactionary assault — we find for the first time in the history of Arabic poetry that there is a poetry of resistance not only in the literary meaning but also in the scientific and rational meanings.

> "The criteria for Palestinianism is militant achievements."

Now for the first time there is poetry connected to the Palestinian fight. There are militant newspapers against the Israeli tanks; for the first time there are poetic and literary fora in the trenches. Ali Fodeh was martyred distributing *The Sidewalk*. The editors of *Falastin al-Thawra* and *The Battle* wrote under bombardment. This is a special experience for Palestinian literature whether in the occupied territories or outside Palestine.

Q: What about the crises in Palestinian poetry?

A: In fact, the crises do not exist in poetry but in poems themselves. Some people are optimistic about the victory of the revolution, others, at setbacks, are pessimistic. They lose the compass and direction. The criteria for Palestinianism is militant achievements. Some poets who are loyal to the cheques given to them attacked the joint poem I wrote with my comrade Mahmoud Darwish. Why? Because they did not understand this poem addressing an Israeli soldier. We did not address the Zionist soldier but we addressed hundreds and thousands of Israeli soldiers who refusd this dirty war. We addressed 548 who receive treatment in hospitals for psychological stress. We addressed the commander of the armoured brigade, Eli Geva, who refused to attack Beirut. We addressed the 400,000 demonstrators in Tel Aviv protesting the war.

Q: After Beirut, there has been a change in concepts and the political visions and also a change in the poetic concepts. What are these changes and their effects on poetry?

A: There was no radical change after the 'stage of Beirut'. What happened in Beirut and after was a new revolutionary formation based on the new realistic implications of the present revolutionary stage.

We cannot divide the events in Beirut from the political and military developments after the departure of the fighters because the military operations are still effective in Beirut. We are the extension of Beirut. We are the streams of that river called the ramparts and fortifications of Beirut. The streams are still flowing in the river like the veins in the body of the human being.

We have to discover new and distinguishing forms for our literature. As the forms of resistance are not isolated from us, we are not reactions but actions. The battle of Beirut opens big horizons for our new literature.

Q: It is said that the famous poets did not leave anything for smaller poets to say. What do you think?

A: However famous a poet feels he is, he still feels he's a child standing before the sea trying to learn how to swin. The peak, therefore, has enough room for dozens of poets, not only for one or two.

The most important thing is to learn how to climb the mountain. The poet must not imagine that it is possible to descend the mountain by using a parachute or to take an electric elevator to the peak. The poet has to climb, his feet torn, but continue to climb. This is not advice, it is the nature of the work.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's itinerary in Africa, updates on Palestinian-Jordanian relations and the continuing conflict in Lebanon were the main stories this week in the local press.

Al Fajr and **Al Sha'ab** focussed their front page headlines on Arafat's visits and meetings with leaders in Guinea, Gambia and Senegal.

Al Quds daily gave top billing throughout the week to the expected resumption of high level Jordanian-Palestinian talks. The paper reported on the recently convened Jordanian parliament's backing to these talks.

All these dailies also continued to cover the situation in Lebanon and the escalating resistance to the American and the Israeli presence there.

Imminent Aggression

The Lebanese *Al Nahar* newspaper said yesterday the sectarian regime in Lebanon intends to carry out a military operation to impose its control over all the country. The paper also said the US expressed willingness to support the Lebanese army.

By seeing the connection between this report published in a newspaper that has sources in the ruling regime and what is developing in Lebanon, as well as what the American media and the American secretary of state keep talking about — pre-emptive strikes to foil suicide air attacks against the sixth fleet — the script of the coming American aggression in Lebanon becomes clear. This attack will be intended to smash the nationalist forces so that for the Phalangist party can take power.

The Gemayel regime ought to have worked towards ridding its land of the Israeli occupation. But this was not possible because of the regime's connections, policies and goals.

AL SHA'AB
January 24

Who are the Thieves ?

King Hassan of Morocco spoke to the people on Sunday following the popular uprising of the Moroccan people against the increases in the price of food and education.

The will of the hungry people has proved once again that it is stronger than all kings. The king was forced to cancel all the recent economic measures that upset the people and students.

But we have to wonder here: if the Arab countries are so rich in natural resources, why then are the Arab people so poor and miserable?

Last week, the uprising was in Morocco. Two weeks earlier it was in Tunisia. Less than a year ago it happened in the Sudan. On January 18 and 19 of 1977, there was an uprising of the poor in Egypt. All of these occurred because of a shortage of food. Anwar Sadat's class arrogance reached a high level when he called Egypt's poor "thieves" and their demonstrations "troublemaking."

The truth is that these uprisings for the bread are at the same time uprisings against the reactionary dictatorial regimes that use national resources to benefit the ruling party and foreign investments but give nothing for the working people.

The Arab countries have won their official political independence. But the issue of democracy and social justice remains. Who owns the land? Is it a small intruding class or the people that were the fuel for the liberation revolutions?

The crises of the reactionary regimes are growing. The problem of solving food crises is interacting with issues of democracy, independent foreign policy and social and economic justice. These issues are mixing more than any time before, escalating with them class struggle in the Arab world.

The Arab world is not lazy, backward or ignorant. It is the reactionary regimes that are obstructing national and social revolutions.

Sadat was able to suppress the hungry people with force. Numeiri of Sudan did the same thing. It seems the regimes of Tunisia and Morocco have temporarily survived this crisis after killing many demonstrators.

The reactionary regimes have never been able to suppress the people's will for life, progress, freedom and sovereignty. The day is not far off when people will take matters into their own hands and destroy the real thieves — the reactionary regimes.

AL ITTIHAD
January 24

Confronting American Threats

Once again Washington uses language threatening a preventive war against Syria and Iran, using the excuse that they shelter organisations working against the American forces in Lebanon.

These threats cannot be separated from the grave failure of the American policies in Lebanon which exposed the allegations that these policies would serve peace efforts in Lebanon.

It is obvious now that "American peace" in Lebanon means to destroy and divide it and leave it under the control of the fascist Phalangists, the US and Israel.

This is a fact that not even those who believe in "American peace" for the Middle East or the Palestinian cause can deny or claim that they won.

What do those who talk about a "new initiative" to present to an American president who lifts his stick in the face of the Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians expect from him if they really want the occupied Arab land and the legitimate Palestinian rights back?

What the Lebanese and Syrians want in Lebanon is to return freedom to that country. This is why Reagan and his allies lift their stick in their face and bomb their cities and villages. In return, Reagan and his allies offer their agent, Gemayel, an olive branch and a promise to install him, as they wish, as ruler over Lebanon.

While it was not possible to see the US contradict itself in this region, the simple conclusion then is that there is an "American peace" of the likes of Amin Gemayel and the Phalangists and an American aggression against all those who refuse to become its stooges, refusing to surrender to what is falsely referred to as "the American peace."

Therefore those who are searching for an "American peace" are actually looking for something like the surrender agreement in Lebanon. In the case of the Palestinian cause, this means liquidating it.

For this reason, confronting the American policy in the region and rejecting its "initiatives" is a clear indication of the strength of the Palestinian people's rights and the independence and sovereignty of any Arab country.

There is no doubt all those who depend on the US are actually abusing their countries' and peoples' rights and the Palestinian cause, which they hypocritically say they wish to serve.

AL TALIA
January 26

The European Role

Despite the background of the British position towards the Palestinian issue over the many years, yesterday's statements by Britain's foreign secretary are positive developments.

The Palestinians cannot accept any more statements that go by without backing. We, therefore, hope the statements by Britain's foreign secretary will not be just more empty rhetoric for Arab consumption because they were made in an Arab country rather than London.

For these statements to prove that they reflect the British position they should be accompanied by practical and effective steps by the British government. These would include an official recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and granting the PLO office in London diplomatic status. In addition to this, the British government should exert pressure on Israel and the US to change their common position on the Palestinian cause and recognise the Palestinians' rights, particularly the right to self-determination.

Another sensitive point that should be mentioned is that if the traditional Israeli-American alliance has been inhibiting the US from taking any neutral role in finding a solution for the Middle East crisis, this leaves Europe to take on a basic role in resolving this region's conflict.

We hope statements by Britain's foreign secretary will encourage the European community to produce a new initiative based on the Venice Declaration of 1980. That declaration referred to the importance of bringing the PLO into the Middle East peace process. It also called for the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

We take this opportunity to point out that all the previous European initiatives did not produce anything so far. This should lead the European community to take a more vigorous role to solve the complex crisis because this crisis can hurt the European interests here, even indirectly. As a matter of fact, Europe's stability depends on finding a just and lasting solution in the Middle East.

AL FAJR
January 27

The Security Plan

The talks by the Lebanese government and its opposition forces, particularly the Progressive Socialist Party of Walid Jumblatt, on implementing the security plan in Beirut and the mountains still indicate a disagreement in their positions. This disagreement persists in spite of the fact that Amin Gemayel's government has agreed to a principal Druze condition regarding the return of Druze officers and soldiers who left the army and joined the party's militias back to the military service, including promoting them and paying their salaries for the period they were away from service.

It seems the Druze reservations, which consider this compromise by the authorities not enough to reach an agreement, come from the realisation that the Lebanese government is not yet ready to agree to the main condition of the PSP — that the May 17, 1983 Lebanese-Israeli agreement on the withdrawal of the Israeli army from south Lebanon be cancelled.

The government of Amin Gemayel, according to a senior official there, fears that if it cancelled the agreement the Israeli occupation of south Lebanon will persist in the absence of any real framework for the withdrawal of the Israeli army from there.

For this reason, both parties find themselves in a deadlocked position while armed clashes between them continues to reach the populated neighbourhoods, causing heavy casualties among the innocent civilians.

But there is still hope in the fact that they showed some flexibility and willingness to compromise. This was evident in the position of the Lebanese government and in a statement by a senior PSP official who said that his party is willing, in spite of its reservations and skepticism, to listen to more Saudi ideas and suggestions on this subject. Maybe this flexibility can lead to some agreement.

AL QUDS
January 28

PUBLISHER RAIDED FOR SHORT STORY COLLECTION

Israeli police confiscated a new collection of short stories and summoned Ya'coub Hijazi, owner of al-Aswar, the Acre publishing house that printed it, January 25. Police claim the book is "inciting." The book *Sahil* (Whinnying), by Palestinian writer Ali Hussein Khalaf, was a collection of four short stories dealing with the situation in the region. According to Hijazi, the Israeli officer who interrogated him charged that the book is inciting because it mentions explosives and how to make them.

Hijazi denied that the book was inciting and said that several other books of similiar content have been published.

The Acre publisher charged that the raid was in fact a response to al-Aswar's recently launched cultural campaign which offers more than 40 political and literary books at nominal cost.

Hijazi said he "got the impression" that the police are planning to press charges against him.

In a similar raid last year, a dozen books were confiscated. Police then questioned Hijazi about *Palestinan Women and the Revolution* and books by international authors and Palestinian authors Majed Abu Sharar, Ghassan Kanafani and Iz al-Din Qalaq.

Israeli police also summoned Mohammed Ali Taha, a Palestinian short story writer from Kabul, the Galilee, for questioning on his last work, *A Rose to Hafiza*.

PEACE COUNCIL SYMBOL RULED 'LEGAL'

Israeli Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir has recently ruled that the wearing of crossed Palestinian and Israeli flags, the symbol of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, is not illegal.

He wrote in a statement of clarification to a Tel Aviv lawyer who had complained of a series of arrests of council members that people wearing the emblem should not be arrested because it does not constitue an offence. He added, however, that the police have the authority to consider whether circumstances "add a certain significance" to the wearing of the emblem and can decide to question the wearer.

British MD Lectures

Doctor John Reece, from Cambridge University, is currently in the West Bank to give lectures on blood disease and means of treatment to medical personnel in various hospitals and medical institutions. Dr. Reece was invited to the area by the Medical Care Society, in Ramallah.

He lectured at the Medical Care Society and Makassed Hospital, January 24, and at the Hospice Hospital in Jerusalem, January 25, with 50 physicians attending.

MAPAM STUDIES WEST BANK ECONOMY WITHOUT POLITICS

The Mapam Institute for Arabic Studies at Givat Haviva published an English translation recently of one chapter of a forthcoming volume on the West Bank economy 1968-1980 by Abraham Cohen. The chapter deals with agriculture and provides extensive statistics, all drawn from Israeli sources.

The chapter scrupulously avoids addressing itself to any of the political issues pertaining to the occupation, a major weakness as it of course leads the writer to all kinds of dead ends. Military orders dealing with restrictions on use of water, export and internal sales of produce, etc., are all ignored. And Abraham Cohen is probably the last economist around who would address the issue of West Bank agriculture without discussing land grabbing.

Given that these deficiencies make the chapter virtually useless as a piece of research, the extensive raw data he provides may help less politically hobbled academics in their work.

ALTERNATIVE Discusses 'Battle of Algiers'

During the Algerian liberation struggle, the present Israeli prime minister was in favour of aiding the Algerians and the then Labour Party government of David Ben Gurion objected, journalist Yehuda Litani told a recent 'Alternative' Party forum in Tel Aviv. Litani also said that it was the French-settler military organisation, OAS, which caused French capitulation in Algeria. He compared the OAS to Israel's paramilitary Gush Emunim settlers.

The Alternative Party, a recent splinter from the Sheli movement, held a special screening of the film *The Battle of Algiers*, January 20, before a symposium to relate the issue of Algeria to the present Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The discussion was led by Israeli film producer and human rights activist Jad Ne'eman, with a panel consisting of Uri Avneri, editor of *HaOlam HaZeh* weekly and a central figure in Alternative, Ziad Abu Ziad, former editor of *Al Fajr* Hebrew weekly, and Yehuda Litani, the former *HaAretz* correspondent for the occupied territories.

Avneri gave information of Israeli attempts, in which he participated, to aid the Algerians during the liberation struggle while the Israeli government aided the French colonialists by training their forces here and by participating in the attack on Egypt in 1956. That, said Avneri, was also aimed at Algeria. Avneri emphasised that the government lost a potential friend by its policies.

Comparing the FLN and the PLO, Avneri pointed out that the former acted in their own country while the latter is forced to act from outside. He said the FLN activated the population while the PLO is in fact neglecting the occupied territories population. He said that on the other hand, this enables the PLO to act successfully on the diplomatic level. The complexity of the Lebanese war is a unique phenomenon for the PLO which the FLN didn't have to face, said Avneri.

Ziad Abu Ziad saw some similarity between Algeria and the Palestinian issue. Noting French claims that Algeria was an integral part of France, Abu Ziad brought up Israel's former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem Meron Benvenisti's repeated statements that the situation in the occupied territories is "irreversible" and therefore Israelis should demand equal civil rights for the *de facto* annexed population. Abu Ziad said that at first glance this claim might sound advantageous since it could mean a 30 percent share of the Israeli Knesset. Nevertheless, he negated the option and called for Palestinian independence.

Yehuda Litani emphasised the physical gap between France and Algeria, which doesn't exist between Israel and the occupied territories. He pointed to the fact that it was the pressure of French officers graduating from Algeria that brought the decision of France to give up its rule in Algeria. He noted that in Algeria there were collaborators and the system of rule was quite similar. The main difference was that the French invested much more money, stayed there more than 130 years — and still had to leave. The Israeli investments in the Village Leagues, for example, don't provide for a long stay, he said.

YESH GVUL HOLDS STUDY DAY ON WAR

About 200 people participated, January 21, in a study day organised by anti-Lebanon war group *Yesh Gvul*, in a Tel Aviv cinema. supporters of the movement, which encourages refusal to serve in Lebanon, heard reports on *Yesh Gvul* activities by Doron Wilner, a legal report from Avigdor Feldman and an analysis by journalist Amnon Kapeliuk, who stressed the human and political aspects of the war in Lebanon to justify morally and politically the act of resisting call-up.

In the second part of the study day the group divided into four to discuss: *Yesh Gvul* and a potential war with Syria; the Israeli-American strategic treaty and *Yesh Gvul*; and the other peace organistions, *Yesh Gvul* and the 1967 occupied territories. No specific conclusions were reached. A proposal that *Yesh Gvul* discuss the idea of resistance to serve in the occupied territories was postponed.

In a related story, Gideon Heimann, member of Kibbutz Kerem Shalom, who recently served 10 days in a military jail for refual to do army service, has now been totally exempted. Heimann told the defence ministry he would not do military service as long as the Israeli Law of Return does not include Palestinian refugees and as long as the Israeli army is involved in occupation.

Yesh Gvul spokespeople Doron Wilner and Andre Dreznin said at the end of the conference that no movement representative met Yasir Arafat at last summer's UN Conference on the Question of Palestine. The denial followed a reference by Amnon Kapeliuk to such a meeting. He was referring to Gideon Spiro, a member of *Yesh Gvul* who was the formal representative of the Israeli Committee against the War in Lebanon in Geneva. *Yesh Gvul* did not send a delegate to Geneva because it does not have a consensus on the Palestinian issue.

BORDER PATROL ADMITS 4 DRUZE QUIT

In recent months, four Druze border patrollers requested release from their contracts in order not to serve in Lebanon senior Israeli officers of the border police announced, January 22, in order to refute press reports that dozens of border policemen had taken such steps.

A senior officer said that no border patroller has been dismissed and the policemen were granted their requests.

The Druze Initiative Committee recently published information about dozens of border police who were fired or left the service in order not to serve in Lebanon. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, January 23, 1984).

More Banned Books

Name of Book	Author	Publisher
Lectures on the Geography of the Muslim World	Dr. Mahmoud Subhi Abd al-Karim	Islamic Studies Institute
The Condemned Jews	Mohammed Abd al-Aziz Mansour	I'tisam Publishing House
Stories on the Struggle of Muslim Men	Hassan Douh	I'tisam Publishing House
Raising Children in Islam Volumes I & II	Abdullah Alwan	Islam Publishing House; Lebanon & Syria
The Penetration of Thought and Its Impact on Contemporary Islamic Society	Dr. Ali Abd al-Halim Mahmoud	Science Publishing House; Kuwait
Lights on Literature and Art in the Occupied Land	Mohammed Mashayekh	Dustour Commercial Press; Amman

WEEKLY REVIEW

January 20, 1984

FOLK SINGERS HARASSED

KUFR QARA' — Two Palestinian folk singers are being harassed by the Israeli police. Saleh Abu Leil, from Kufr Qara' in the Galilee, was arrested on charges of singing pro-PLO songs. Shafiq Masalhah, also from Kufr Qara', has been banned from entering the West Bank and Gaza.

January 21, 1984

JORDANIANS SHOT BY ISRAELIS

TEL AVIV — An Israeli military spokesperson said three Jordanians were injured when Israeli soldiers fired at them across the Jordan River.

January 23, 1984

SETTLERS LOSE FLOOR

Work began on dismantling an illegal addition to the controversial Barkat Avraham settlers school in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. A contractor hired by Jerusalem's Teddy Kollek municipality worked on taking out the new floor.

FINED FOR FOLKLORE

NABLUS — A Nablus military court sentenced student Mohammed Mazen Darwaza, 20, to a two-month jail term with 20 months suspended and fined him IS40,000 on charges of being at the headquarters of the Federation of Workers Union during an exhibition of Palestinian folklore.

NABULSIS NOT BANKRUPT

NABLUS — Nablus Chamber of Commerce denied a report in *Al Quds* that many merchants in the city are going bankrupt and that bankruptcy cases are being heard at local courts.

TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said a travel ban imposed on Anabta residents was lifted.

SHORT ON WATER

TARQUMIYA — Tarqumiya and neighbouring areas near Hebron are suffering shortages in drinking water. Water to that area is interrupted for weeks at a time for unexplained reasons.

January 24, 1984

RESETTLING ORDERS

GAZA — Residents at 'Block F' and 'Block G' at Amal refugee camp in Khan Yunis have received orders from the Israeli military to evacuate their homes within three months. UNRWA issued a statement saying it does not oppose any measures taken by the Israelis if the refugees agree to them.

MOLOTOV IN NABLUS

A molotov was thrown at an Israeli patrol in Nablus. A military spokesperson said the area was sealed off and many were arrested.

FUNERALS ANNOUNCED

TEL AVIV — Two Israeli officers were reported killed, according to press reports. No further details were given.

TOWN ARREST RENEWED

HEBRON — A town arrest order on Badran Jaber from Hebron has been renewed for six more months. It is the eighth renewal.

January 25, 1984

MONEY BROUGHT IN REDUCED

TEL AVIV — Israel Television said West Bank residents can now bring no more than US$2000 in from Amman or its equivalent in Jordanian dinars. The previous limit was US$3000. The television said those who want to bring in more money must get special permission from the military government.

COLLEGE STUDENTS STRIKE

RAMALLAH — Students at the Community College of Ramallah suspended classes for one day in protest against the suspension of students at al-Ummah College and the Hebron University.

RADIO CLAIMS FIGHTERS BACK

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio claimed that hundreds of Palestinian fighters loyal to the Palestinian dissident groups have recently returned to their bases in the Syrian-controlled Beqa'a valley.

SETTLEMENT ASPIRATIONS?

BEIRUT — Jewish sites are being reconstructed in the Israeli occupied city of Sidon in south Lebanon. A wall is being built around an old Jewish cemetery and roads have been opened inside it.

FARMERS COMPLAIN OF CROP DICTATES

WEST BANK — Inspectors from the military's agriculture department in the West Bank are inspecting farms in the Jordan valley area in search of farmers who planted more eggplants or tomatos than they are allowed by the military. Farmers have been complaining that these Israeli laws are hurting them, particularly in a time of economic decline.

Farmers who exceed the Israeli limit are fined IS15,000 and have to plough under their crops.

PUBLISHING HOUSE RAIDED

ACRE — *Dar al-Aswar* publishing house in Acre was raided by the Israeli police. Owner Ya'coub Hijazi was taken to the Acre police station for interrogation. Hijazi said the police questioned him about a book his house published.

January 26, 1984

SEVEN SETTLEMENTS CUT FROM BUDGET

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said five new settlements will be built in the occupied West Bank next year instead of the 12 planned. The radio said the settlement budget will be cut by 17 percent. This, it added, will reduce the number of settlements built or expanded.

JOURNALIST RESTRICTED

JERUSALEM — Journalist Talal Abu Afifeh of *Al Fajr* Arabic newspaper was placed under town arrest in Jerusalem for one year. This order bans him from entering the West Bank for the duration of the military order.

NEWSPAPER DISTRIBUTORS HARASSED

BEER SHEBA — Beer Sheba police arrested and held for a few hours *Al-Ittihad* newspaper distributors in that city. The police claimed distributing newspapers or leaflets is illegal if a crowd gathers.

BUS STONED

JALAZON — An Israeli bus driver was injured when the bus he was driving came under rock attack near Jalazon camp.

TAX RAID

JERUSALEM — Israeli tax officials raided several stores in Azariyah and confiscated bills and account books.

LAND SEIZED IN JABA'

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military informed villagers from Jaba', near Ramallah, that a large area of their land has been taken over by the military government. The notice considered the land "state property." The villagers were given 30 days to protest.

DURANS CAN LEAVE

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said a travel ban to Jordan imposed on Dura residents for two weeks has been lifted.

RESTRICTION LIFTED

JERUSALEM — A travel restriction imposed for four months on Mohammed Awad, owner of a press office in Ramallah, has been lifted. The military order banned Awad from leaving the West Bank.

ATTACK IN NABLUS CENTRE

TEL AVIV — The Israeli daily *HaAretz* reported a petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli military vehicle near the municipal building in Nablus. It added that another firebomb and equipment were discovered near the attack site. A two-hour curfew was imposed in the area.

ARREST IN DHEISHEH

DHEISHEH — Israeli tax officials arrested Marwan al-Sheikh, member of the Administrative Committee of Dheisheh Youth Centre. He was arrested at his place of work, a stone quarry, near the refugee camp. The quarry was also searched and papers were confiscated.

NAJAH GRADUATION

NABLUS — Najah University celebrated the graduation of 558 of its students in the third graduation ceremony for the university.

January 27, 1984

HOUSES FORCED SEARCHED

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military searched several houses in the village of Husan, near Bethlehem, owned by Jaber Taha, Mustafa Sabateen and Issa Hasson. It was the third time the village houses have been searched in two months.

PRIEST HARASSED

ACRE — Catholic Priest Fawzi Khoury has been ordered by the Acre police to appear twice a day at the city's police station for questioning. Khoury, from Fasouta, refused to obey and filed a suit asking that the police stop harassing him.

TAX RAIDS IN NABLUS

NABLUS — A Nablus merchant was ordered to pay IS10 million in taxes following a raid on his store by Israeli tax officials. Other stores were also raided and ordered to pay heavy taxes.

TWO STORES REOPENED

NABLUS — Two stores owned by Ali Bayouni and Zuhair Qamhieh were allowed to reopen. They had been ordered shut by the military government for the last two months.

January 28, 1984

ISRAELIS PROPOSE COMMITTEE

WEST BANK — The Israeli military governor in Ramallah told a group of al-Bireh residents to convince the elected al-Bireh city

Tarqumiya village (above) and surrounding areas in the Hebron district have been suffering shortages in drinking water. Water has been interrupted for weeks at a time for unexplained reasons./ JM photo

council to reassume its duties or establish a committee to run the town in place of the current Israeli appointed administration.

The governor suggested the residents, who included a member of the elected council, create the committee and even go to Amman to get approval. Once this occurs, he said, the Israeli 'civil administration' will also approve it.

ZAYYAD BACKS RIDA' INVESTIGATION

The mayor of Nazareth, MK Tawfiq Zayyad, appealed to other MKs to urge the Israeli government to speed up investigations into the murder of Rida' Kilani, from Jenin, and to bring those responsible to trial.

January 29, 1984

TNT'S TERRORISM

NAZARETH — Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad said there was an attempt by an Israeli terror group, "Terror Against Terror", to kidnap two youths from the Galilee village of Sakhnin. One of the youths lost his voice as he escaped from his abductors more than two weeks ago.

STUDENT UNDER TOWN ARREST

HEBRON — Nazmi Mraqten, member of the Hebron University Student Council, was placed under town arrest for six months in Tarqumiya, near Hebron.

POLICE ARREST THREE BROTHERS

JET — Wadi Ara police arrested Saturday Abd al-Hakim Samarah, member of the Israeli Communist Party, and two of his brothers. No reason was given for their arrest.

TWO QABATYANS JAILED

JERUSALEM — The military court in Nablus sentenced Abdallah Abu Zaid, from Qabatiya, for a four-year jail term and another four-year suspended sentence. Mahmoud Hassan Mahmoud was given five years and another three years suspended. Both were charged with demonstrating and stone-throwing.

TWO WEEKS TO LIVE

FAQUA'A — Three residents of the village of Faqua'a, near Jenin, have been informed by the military government that their houses will be demolished if they do not obtain a building license within two weeks.

TAX RAIDS CONTINUE

NABLUS — Israeli tax officials ordered a Nablus merchant to pay JD20,000 in value added tax or be arrested. A drug store owner was arrested and held for four days to force him to pay IS500,000 in taxes.

Town Arrests and Movement Restrictions

JOURNALIST TALAL ABU AFIFEH, JERUSALEM ONLY

Israeli military authorities banned Jerusalem resident Talal Abu Afifeh, a reporter for *Al Fajr* (Arabic), from entering the West Bank for one year starting January 15 and from Gaza for six months. The military orders were issued separately and simultaneously by the West Bank and Gaza military commanders. No explanation was given for the measure.

The journalist recently finished serving a four-month jail sentence on charges of possession of banned material.

JOURNALIST AWAD ABDEL FATTAH, NO ENTRY TO OTs

Al Fajr (English) journalist Awad Abdel Fattah, from the village of Kowkab in the Galilee, was given an order forbidding him from entering the West Bank and Gaza, excluding Jerusalem, January 25. It runs for one year.

The order, which was handed to Abdel Fattah in the *Al Fajr* office by Jerusalem policemen gave no explanation for the measure.

POET SAMI KILANI, 1st YEAR

Sami Kilani, a physics lecturer at Najah University, received another six-month town arrest order, January 24, first imposed on him in June 1983. The order forbids him from leaving his home village of Ya'abad, in the Jenin district. Kilani, who is also a noted short story writer, was tried and acquitted last month from charges of publishing an inciting poetry book.

LIBRARIAN BADRAN JABER , 4th YEAR

The military governor of the West Bank renewed the town arrest order on Hebron city figure Badran Jaber, January 25, for the eighth time.

According to the order, Jaber is confined to Hebron at all times and cannot leave his house from dusk to dawn. Jaber, the librarian at the Hebron University Graduates League, is an ex-political prisoner. He served two terms, totalling four years. His first town restriction order imposed June 1980, forced him to give up his teaching position in Jerusalem.

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Karate

perience, says, "As a people under occupation, we need to master forms of self-defence. Not only can a karate player react quicker in confrontations with the military, but he can also bear more pain, especially in prison." He cites the example of Nidal Malki of Kufr Malik, former instructor at the Nadi al-Islami — Ramallah, sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for alleged involvement in the assassination of Village Leaguer Yusef Khatib. "It took a year for the Israelis to force him to confess and now he teaches karate in prison."

Khalil points to a seemingly incidental but significant social attribute of karate practice. At the Qadissiyya Club, one quickly forgets the low ceiling and the crowdedness of the small exercise room where students practise the *katas*. Sticking to balanced stances, 15 of Khalil's best students thrust arms forward, turn in unison and glide across the room in choreographed fashion. "Practising the *katas* over and over again together helps develop a strong sense of identification as a group. The whole group participates together, even those at different levels of experience. We do things together outside the club as well, for example, we visit friends in prison."

Despite the stereotypes they foster, karate films do encourage players and prospective *karatekas*. Most students and instructors say they were inspired to take up the sport by films or from friends. Says Khalil, "In my opinion, the movies have both good and bad effects. They can teach you about different styles of karate and provoke your enthusiasm. However, most tend to exaggerate. It is not uncommon for people to ask, 'Teach me to fly like th do in the movies.' One man cannot take on 20 opponents no matter how experienced he is... Bruce Lee films are authentic and one can learn technique from such movies."

Led on by the acrobatics of exaggerated martial arts films, the uninitiated will continue to misunderstand the mental and physical lessons, not to mention the values of self-defence, taught by karate. By dint of shere enthusiasm and determination, however, local karate players will continue to grow in number and improve their skills regardless of the obstacles posed by inadequate facilities and the lack of developed contacts with outside experts. Efforts are underway to establish official international recognition of Palestinian karate.

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Response to Rubinstein

istic — as some Zionists try to claim without proof — it has now redeveloped into its original ancient, anachronistic characteristics of dominant Orthodox Judaism. Rubinstein defines this process as "word, then the silence of acceptance, then actions." It's true.

3. He claims that "today's Zionism isn't like that of before 1967." He also says that "people who agree with what has been written in the pages of *Nekuda* (Point — the settlers' organ)) should forget all that was said in the Zionist Congresses." This is simply self-delusion or worse.

The idea of "transfer" in Palestine was discussed in Zionist organisations and literature near the time when "transfers" were planned and then took place in Europe. Claims of the collaboration of certain Zionist leaders with the early Nazi regime have been frequently raised. Acts against Jews in Argentina and Iraq, in order to cause their "transfer" to Palestine/Israel, have also been documented. The most recent silence of the Israeli government about the "disappearance" of many Jews in Argentina under the fascist regime and the military support given by Israel at the same time might be interpreted in the same direction.

On the other hand, there is the famous saying of Arthur Rupin, "one of the best" of the early Zionists, when he was involved in land purchases for Zionism in Palestine. He said in 1936, when buying land from feudal Arab landlords, "On every site where we purchase land and where we settle people, the present cultivators will inevitably be dispossessed." This state of affairs was *de facto* acknowledged by then Defence Minister Moshe Dayan after the 1967 war when the debate on return of the occupied territories was at its peak.

In the same period, Rupin was saying, "When we come to a dilemma between universal morals and Zionism, we must choose Zionism." This was Zionist history under the "Labour Movement." The Begin-Shamir-Sharon regime simply intensified it, made it less subtle, more arrogant and overt. Previous governments were more jealous of their external image and reputation but the diaries of former Premiers Moshe Sharett and Yitzhak Rabin have disclosed enough to reveal the truth.

4. It is true that in the Bible (Torah) and its interpretations in the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* one can find beautiful universalist ideas, beyond nationalism and mortality. An American Jewish scholar even compiled a book of *Talmudic* quotes to interpret Judaism as a pacifist religion. The founder of the pacifist movement in Israel, Nathan Hofshy, said he didn't need Christianity in order to be a pacifist; he had the *Talmud*.

All this doesn't make Judaism a just and universalist religion. It is definitely not when attached to political Zionism for each other's mutual use. A former director general of the religious affairs ministry Rabbi Kahana (not Meir, the infamous Kach leader) stated in a public symposium a few years ago, "Judaism is a national religion; it's intended to unite the people." This is the dominant trend in Judaism.

I don't know what "humanistic tradition" in Judaism Rubinstein relates to. Maybe he means that people with Jewish backgrounds have been humanists and have fought and struggled for human rights. However, as far as I know those people didn't do it as believers in Judaism. On the contrary, they did it as secularists and reformists. A Jewish "humane tradition" should have prevented, or tried to prevent, the atrocities committed by Zionism towards Palestinian Arabs through the present century. But no rabbi has condemned that. I wish they would contradict me with quotations proving the universal protection Jewish concepts provide for every human being.

Rubinstein concludes his article by comparing the situation here, of the Arabs as discriminated against and the Jews as discriminating, with the situation of Jews elsewhere in the world. This is the correct way. But please, member of Knesset, advocate, officer (reserves) Amnon Rubinstein, make the final *step*: take off your Zionist robe!

Karate, **Steve Tamari** discovered for *Al Fajr*, is a growing sport in the occupied territories. Practitioners see it as important for physical and personal development. The authorities see it, like any organised manifestation of Palestinian cooperation, as a security threat, thus preventing Palestinian *karatekas* from linking with international organisations.

KAI! Palestinian Karate in the Occupied Territories

To the casual observer, karate conjures up images of brick-busting chops, rib-cracking kicks and ear-shattering cries — the stuff of Japanese and Korean cinematic schlock. But to the enthusiast, karate, a Japanese martial art and form of unarmed combat, is a "style of life, a way to mental concentration and physical power and control," as one local instructor puts it. Like their counterparts the world over, Palestinian *karatekas* (those who practice karate) display a singular devotion to the sport — this inspite of difficulties posed by inadequate facilities, Israeli travel restrictions and the absence of a centralised Palestinian association for the promotion of sports in the West Bank and Gaza.

Contemporary styles of karate developed in this century, although the origins of the art can be traced back hundreds of years to Indian yoga, Zen Buddhism and Chinese acupuncture. Dergham Khalil, one of the West Bank's foremost karate experts with 11 years of experience, is well versed in the history of the sport. According to Khalil, (prariyama) yoga, Buddhism and acupuncture are, respectively, the sources for the difficult breathing patterns, the rigorous mental discipline and the understanding of the body's 'pressure points,' so essential to karate. The combination of these techniques is the foundation for the stylised kicks and punches the skilled player can deliver with pinpoint accuracy, lightning speed and powerful, but always controlled, force.

Mistakenly known as an aggressive sport, Khalil is quick to point out that fighting is only one aspect of karate, and as such should only be used in self-defence or during supervised competitions. Khalil echoes the sentiments of many other West Bank *karatekas* when he comments, "karate is important because it helps build determination, discipline, concentration and physical health."

The recent history of karate is closely tied to the international experience of occupation. The essentials of *shotokan*, the karate style most popular in the West Bank and Gaza, were developed in Okinawa under Japanese occupation. American occupation authorities in Japan following World War II forbad the instruction of the martial arts, a measure which only encouraged Japanese masters to see that unity of style was maintaned under circumstances which threatened confusion.

Occupation or not, karate is more popular than ever among local Palestinians. Martial arts in the occupied territories took on an organised form in the mid-60s when *jujitsu* and *judo* clubs were first established. Today some 12 clubs operate in the West Bank and Gaza, most federated under the Arab Judo and Karateka Association (AJKA). The AJKA was founded in 1979 to unify scattered clubs most of whose instructors lacked proper training, according to Khalil. The goals of the association are to "raise the level of instruction and thus of the students, to organise competitions and exhibitions and to supervise the martial arts in the West Bank and Gaza."

The AJKA recently published *The World of Karate*, a magazine which includes an Arabic translation of the grading system used by the Japanese Karate Association to judge candidates for advanced stages, indicated by the different coloured belts worn by *karatekas*. *The World of Karate* is also filled with articles on local experts, interviews with foreign masters, a report on the growing popularity of karate among Palestinian women, a tribute to Nidal Malki, a local karate hero now in detention, and a page of transliterated conversational Japanese. The AJKA also issues a "karate passport' to each member wherein progress, the results of examinations and a periodic health check are recorded.

Emblem of the Arab Judo and Karateka Association, founded in 1979.

Instructor Dergham Khalil demonstrates a spectacular karate jump.

Jerusalem and Jericho karate players demonstrate *kihon* during a Jericho exhibition. "A style of life, a way to mental concentration and physical power and control."

The need to circulate information and develop a unified system to test students is crucial for maintaining professional standards. Israeli military restrictions on travel abroad impose a major obstacle to progress in West Bank and Gaza karate. Explains Khalil, "We don't have qualified experts here; an official document is necessary for those who test black belt and *dan* (graduate) candidates. Our trainers must have access to foreign experts. Travel restrictions make this difficult. One must have a permit to leave the country and men under 26 cannot make trips of less than six months. This is impossible since most of us have jobs or are full-time students. The result is that karate in the occupied territories has a tendency to move around itself, impeding growth."

Furthermore, as there is as yet no internationally recognised Palestinian karate association, there is little incentive for foreign experts to visit the West Bank and Gaza. News of experts visiting Israeli trainees sometimes gets around by word of mouth. Otherwise, *karatekas* from the occupied territories depend on those few who manage to go abroad, and on books and films. Recently, West Bankers managed to contact a visiting Kenyan karate master and in November 1983 four West Bank instructors travelled to Cairo as individuals and competed in an international *shotokan* competition — the closest Palestinian karate has come to international recognition to date. (See *Al Fajr*, August 19, 1983 for a detailed account of Palestinians in international sports competitions).

At present, local examinations take place on an individual basis for the six levels up to the black belt. Candidates are judged on their performance in the three applications of karate technique. *Kihon* is repetitive technical training which includes punches, kicks, blocking moves, changes of pace and balancing. These basic moves are combined in dance-like sequence known as a *kata*. A prearranged set of *katas* is mastered by candidates for each level. *Kumite* is free-style fighting, most commonly used in competitions where points are scored for good form and proper timing and distancing (all attacks must stop short of contact). "In *kumite*," comments Khalil, "one must think extremely quickly in order to deliver the precise attack or block for the situation."

The lack of funds and official representation and the inadequacy of existing facilities are sources of complaint among karate players, and sports enthusiasts in general, in the occupied territories. Says Ziad Sheikh, founder and instructor at the Jericho karate club, "Most efforts here are done on an individual basis. This takes great risk and money from one's own pocket. We need a government of our own to promote and care for sports."

The Israeli Jerusalem municipality has done very little to improve sports facilities. For example, East Jerusalem has only one fully equipped football field, the Ralph Nasser Field at the East Jerusalem YMCA. The Qadissiyya club trains in a small room with a ceiling so low it impedes the high kicking and jumping essential to karate. The Beit al-Quds club adjoins a library and the central market area of the Old City, restricting the ability of students to yell the *kai*, which helps to contract muscles stabilise joints and concentrate physical and mental energy.

Despite these difficulties, karate in the occupied territories is growing and *karatekas*, from white belt to black, display enormous enthusiasm for the art. At present there are 12 clubs in the occupied territories, six in Jerusalem, one each in Jericho, Gaza, and Ramallah and regular courses at Bethlehem and Bir Zeit universities. Bir Zeit, Bethlehem, Ibrahimiyya College and the Jerusalem YMCA now offer courses for women, though there are no women qualified to instruct yet.

Karate exhibitions have become popular local events. Last year alone, exhibitions were held in Ramallah, Bir Zeit, Jericho and at the YMCA. The Nadi al-Islami — Ramallah exhibition, held in early 1983, involved clubs from all over the West Bank. Competitions are less frequent but plans are underway for a brown and black belt match later this month.

Local *karatekas* are eager to expound on the virtues of the sport. Omar Khatib, an English major at Bethlehem University and a student of Hani Halabi at the Beit al-Quds club, says, "Karate can be valuable as a form of self-defence and it helps you develop self confidence. If I miss one class in a week I feel terrible the rest of the week." Mohammed Khalil, 14, a green belt at the Qadissiyya Club, explains his enthusiasm, "Karate helps develop concentration," but cautions, "you must never use karate on the street unless it is a question of survival. The good karate player doesn't show off." Ladib Mujahed, also of Qadissiyya, adds, "Karate makes you trust yourself, helps you be patient and disciplined."

Dergham Khalil emphasises particular physical lessons taught by karate. Unlike body building or wrestling, which he terms "slow moving," karate demands constant alertness and attention to the immediate environment. "Karate teaches you about the balance of the body. An experienced player can bring the strength of his opponent to himself by keeping his stance firm and upsetting that of his competitor. You must use your mind in guarding against attack and face the attack with a counter attack, deflecting the energy and strength of your opponent."

One teacher, with five years ex-

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